“Race” Conditioning Social Cohesion in the Post-Apartheid Cape Town Neighbourhood

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PHD DISSERTATION

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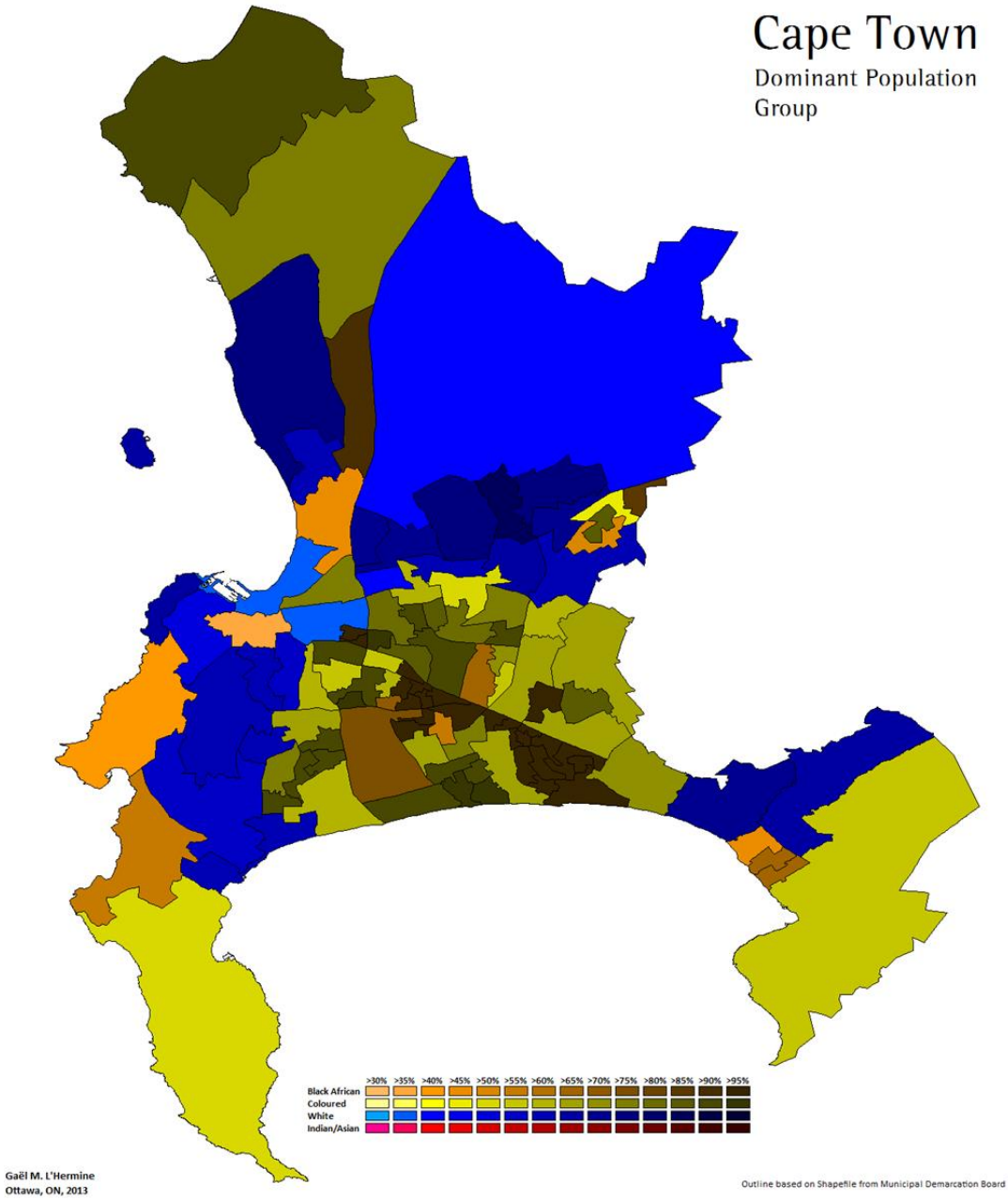
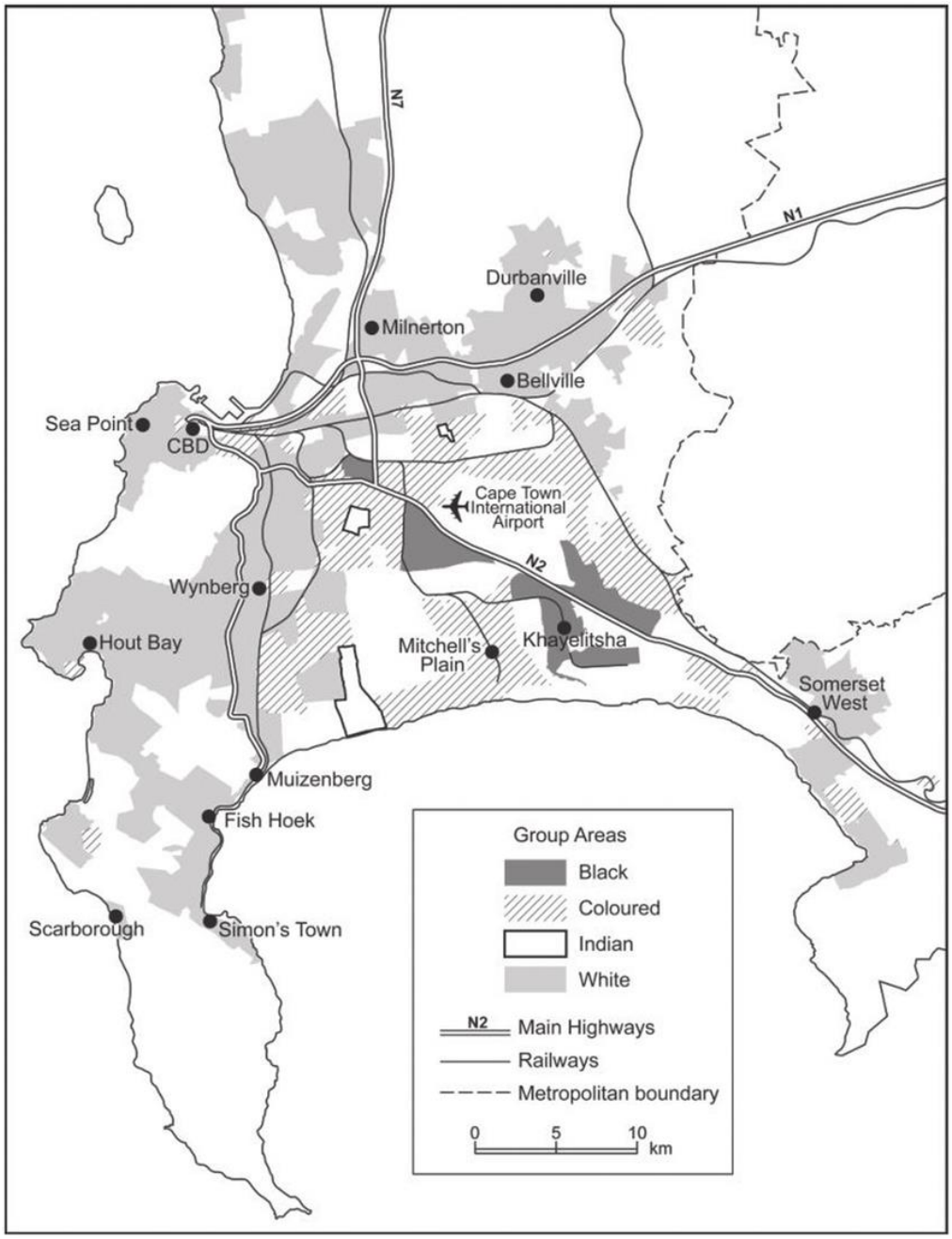
Cape Town, racial distribution 2011 (Source: Gael M.L. Hermine)



Cape Town, Apartheid Group Areas (Source: Owen Cranckshaw, ResearchGate)



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Abstract

This study explores whether and how race effects and shapes social integration in the post-apartheid Cape Town neighbourhood. The underlying questions are whether and how the racial classifications inherited from apartheid are meaningful when residents negotiate, determine and arrange their changing neighbourhood and neighbours. The object of this study is Thornton, a lower middle-class neighbourhood where the economic class of residents is homogeneous. Instead, racial diversification has been substantial during the post-apartheid decades. Thus, this study examines how race is processed and managed inside class.

I built my research design on the concept of social cohesion which relates to the ideal of Rainbow Nation. Neighbourhood social cohesion presents Rainbow Nation on a small scale, a local and space-specific interpretation of the present stage of overcoming previous segregation structures. I analysed cohesion through two approaches, with the first considering collectivities and the second individuals. First, I ask how race is visible in neighbourhood social and spatial practices. This approach explores the forms of participation, community building and using public space. Second, I ask in which way residents of different race conceive their changing neighbours and neighbourhood. This approach explores residents´ attitudes towards people from another race group than their own. It also explores individual residents´ socializing patterns and interaction orientation.

The underlying discipline is urban sociology; however, this study has drawn inspiration from several disciplines and research fields. Theoretically this study draws from socio-spatial integration research which examines whether physical residential proximity produces closer social interaction between people of diverse backgrounds. Methodologically this study follows ethnographic research methods and qualitative methodology. The main research material was gathered over a period of 11 months of fieldwork during 2016 and 2017 in Thornton, Cape Town. The analysis was based on interviews of the residents in Thornton, and observation of civic and religious communities and public places and spaces.

The results of this study indicate that race is both significant and insignificant when explaining neighbourhood social cohesion. There is a complex relationship between post-apartheid reconciliation speech and lived mundane realities. The results of this study contribute to the discussion on the persistent nature of social classification and categorizing difference and can be drawn to wider than South African debates. In the South African context, this study adds to the discussion of the fairly new research field focusing on the new black African middle class. In addition, results of this study correlate with previous research on the patterns and success in dismantling apartheid´s spatial planning.

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I devote this thesis to the greatest gifts life has given me: my sons who always fill my heart with love and happiness. To Elias and Onni.

Abbreviations

ACC	African Centre for Cities
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CBD	Central Business District
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
FLISP	Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
LSM	Living Standard Measure
N.G. Kerk	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NHW	Neighbourhood Watch
NP	National Party
(N)UDF	(National) Urban Development Framework
RB	Reconciliation Barometer
RPD	Redistribution and Development Programme
SAPS	South African Police Service
TIC	Thornton Islamic Community
TRRA	Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association
URP	Urban Renewal Programme

Glossary

Bantustan	homeland
Braai	barbecue
Dompas	identity document, internal passport
Heritage Day	24 September, public holiday for celebration of cultural diversity
Maghrib	Muslim prayer prayed just after sunset
Shack village	informal settlement
Shebeen	township bar
SOS-village	children´s home
Thornton Act	community meeting organized by ward councillor
Ubuntu	humanity, a person is a person through other people
Zello	mobile application

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study explores the legacy of apartheid racial segregation conditioning neighbourhood social and spatial practices, mindsets and every-day social realities in contemporary South Africa. The object of the study is Thornton, a racially mixed lower middle-class neighbourhood in Cape Town. Thornton was a "for whites only" area during apartheid but has gradually changed and become racially diversified. While the racial distribution in Thornton has changed considerably since the apartheid decades, the socio-economic class has stayed the same. This research outlines the ways the old and new residents in Thornton negotiate their new neighbours and the changed neighbourhood, and how the demographic transformation has an impact on community cohesion.

In the environment of emphasizing the big issues of globality, planetary urbanism (Robinson, 2017; Schmid, 2015; Parnell & Pieterse, 2015; Brenner & Schmid, 2011), the global south (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2011; Watson, 2009) or post-colonialism (Roy, 2015, 2014; Majumdar, 2010; Robinson, 2003), this study focuses on the locality. Even though the local is conditioned by the global, the uniqueness of a locality is where lived experiences and where making sense of the world take place. This study concentrates on the specific locality and context in South Africa and in a Cape Town neighbourhood. Cape Town has a long history of segregation, apartheid "race" [1] -based system of separation being the most extreme, and the dismantling of historical social structures is still underway. In addition to the unique local social environment, people in Thornton live globally interconnected urban and suburban lives and surroundings (Berger & Huntington, 2002). This study focuses on the neighbourhood as a spatial entity to examine how people in the multifaceted social environment mediate and arrange their social realities, and on how these practices shape the neighbourhood social spheres.

[1] The concept of "race" is understood as a social category (Erasmus, 2017; Mare, 2014; Posel, 2001a; Winart & Omi, 1986), and the usage of the concept is legitimized through its contextual rationale. (See pages 13, 25-27) .

1.1 Research questions and study objectives

The research questions are framed inside two approaches: The first approach discusses neighbourhood social and spatial practices conditioning social cohesion. This approach includes following questions:

1. How is race visible in the neighbourhood social and spatial practices?

2. What are the places and spaces for integration or non-integration, and which social and spatial practices produce and nurture or prevent social cohesion?

The second approach discusses individual residents´ attitudes and personal conduct conditioning social cohesion. This approach includes following questions:

3. How does race emerge in the attitudes and attitude related behavioural manifestations of the residents?

4. Do these attitudes and behaviours nurture or prevent cohesion?

Rationale of the study

The ending of apartheid segregation and administration (1948-1994) was followed by the urge to build a new united nation of South Africa. The introduction of the ideal of Rainbow Nation was a prestigious ambition to remake a new sense of South Africanism. The Rainbow Nation ideal emphasized the unity in diversity, aiming at making multi-race, multi-ethnic, multi-language, multi-religious and multi-class South Africans equal, under one nation, one flag and one national anthem. However, the project of the one united South Africa has not been exclusively successful, and the enthusiasm for Rainbow Nation, and openness towards other than your own racial group has declined after the early years of the end of apartheid (Wale, 2014).

Both the economic and cultural boundaries between racial groups have remained salient (Seekings, 2017; Erasmus, 2017; Seekings & Nattrass, 2017, 2005; Cranckshaw, 2012; Leibrandt et al., 2010). Even though the previously discriminated population groups have formally gained access to increasing their wealth, class and race are still bound together. The majority of the poor are still black African people, while the majority of white people still belong to wealthier income groups. While class and race were strictly bound during apartheid, at present, class is diversified especially inside non-white population groups. There is a growing new non-white middle class, whose life styles and aspirations are mostly unexplored

areas in academic research. (Southall, 2016; Mattes, 2015) The research conducted has concentrated on the economic and socio-economic definitions of who belongs to the middle class (Southall, 2016; Khunou 2015; Thurlow, Resnick & Ubogu, 2015;Visagie & Posel, 2013) while the comparison with the values and everyday lifestyles between the established, the white middle class and the new non-white middle class has gained less space.

The legacy of apartheid is especially persistent in residential patterns. Despite the integration policies and integrative housing projects, residential segregation is particularly tenacious in Cape Town. (City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework, 2017; Donaldson et al., 2013b; City of Cape Town Census -statistics, 2011; City of Cape Town Integrated Development Plan, 2007; Christopher, 2005, 2002, 2001a, b; Watson, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2003; Turok, 2001). Most of the people still live in areas that were designated for occupancy by different race groups during apartheid. Post-apartheid Thornton is an exception in this trajectory. Having gone through a thorough change of population distribution, it has become racially mixed. The trajectory in Thornton has been spontaneous, mixing happening without public integration projects or focused housing developments.

This study builds on previous research on neighbourhood relations in the post-apartheid South-Africa and especially Cape Town (Scheidegger, 2014; Muyeba & Seekings, 2011; Lemanski, 2006a, 2006b; Oldfield, 2004; Bakewell, 2002; Broadbridge, 2001; Lohnert, Oldfield & Parnell 1998; Saff, 1998). In particular, this study builds on Charlotte Lemanski´s (2011, 2010 with Saff G., 2006, 2004, and 2001/under name of Spinks) research on the relationship between physical desegregation and inter-racial social integration. There are only few previous studies that have analysed Cape Town suburban neighbourhoods, where more than two racial groups are living in the same neighbourhood (Meer, 2018; Lemanski, 2006; Broadbridge, 2004). This study adds to previous research and updates this area of interest. There has been a lack of research on middle-class neighbourhoods and mixing across the race inside the class. Previous research has concentrated on interracial integration across the class, and mostly on public interventions and housing policies for producing residential integration. My study facilitates an updated reflection on the relationship between spatial proximity and inter-racial social integration in the post-apartheid suburban context. The object of my study is a neighbourhood where the mixing has happened through self-driven in-movement of non-white population groups and not as a result of intentional mixing or as an objective of the integration policy.

In sum, this study debates race and inter-racial relationships conditioning neighbourhood cohesion and is thus part of a broader discussion of the South African post-apartheid integration project. The special relevance of this study is accentuated by its object, a spontaneously mixed middle-class neighbourhood.

This study also contributes to the broader discussion of the terms of multiculturalism and terms of residential integration producing socially inclusive environments. To understand how multiculturalism operates I hope the findings of this study will also provide perspectives on the discussion of the effects of recent migration waves and the ensuing social changes in Europe and in my home country Finland.

Ethical discussion on using the word "race"

The use of the word "race" raises a need for a research ethical explanation, and even justification, especially when accomplishing my thesis in Finland where the word "race" often causes reactions of objection. In this study, "race" is understood as a socially structured category and the use of the concept is legitimized through its contextual rationale. The meaning and legitimacy of "race" in South Africa is different compared for example to the United States, where the race still has a biological definition. In the United States, race is very much present, and the equality and justice questions are to a large extent race-driven between African and white Americans (Delgado, 2012; Winart and Omi, 1986/2015). Here, race is considered as a socially constructed category inherited from the apartheid classifications. These classifications had both somatic (e.g. skin colour) and social criteria (social environment and linkages).

Taking "race" as "self-evident" is adaption to the context of my study object. Even if there is a danger that giving racial issues this much academic attention in itself confirms racialism and racially determined social structures, this study follows the patterns of South African academic research and public discussion. In South Africa, the social engineering of racial segregation during apartheid still affects South African society in a profound way, and the use of racial categories is mundane in official and public discourse as well as in private interaction.

Henceforth, the word race is thus used without quotation marks. To avoid too much repetition in the text, the words "population group" and "racial group" have been used as synonyms to race and race group. Following the official statistical categorizations, I use the term "black African" instead of commonly used terms "black" or "African". The words "coloured people", "coloured population" and "coloureds" have been used as synonyms. Avoiding the usage of

laden concepts has been acknowledged, but due to the contextual phraseology it has been difficult to find suitable paraphrases. For example, the concept of "non-white" is recognized to be inheritance from the apartheid oppressive social practice and language, but in this study, it has not been applied in its derogatory bearing. "Non-white" and "non-black African" have been applied for the sake of being simple expressions, and because less labelling concepts are hard to find. To me it is equally stigmatizing, whether we speak about "non-white" or "other than white", "non-European" or "people with colour". Further, using "blacks" or "black people" when talking about black African, coloured and Asian population groups I find as problematic as using non-white. According to my experience, the local coloured people I met were not willing to be identified as belonging within this general conception of "black population". However, it is good to recognize that in the political context and discourse, "black" as an umbrella term is used to combine the shared experience of population groups other than white of the apartheid oppression. In this sense, belonging within "black" is not a question of racial category as a common identity but as a category of oppression. Lastly, this study talks about race, not ethnicity. Race groups as social structures formulated during apartheid include various ethnicities (see pages 32-34), but the analysing of the in-racial ethnic backgrounds is not the focus in this study.

1.2 Disciplinary context and theoretical background

While the ground discipline of this study is human geography (Lemanski, 2006; Oldfield, 2004; Massey, 1994) and urban sociology (Cranckshaw, 2012, 2008; Nightingale, 2012; Muyeba & Seekings, 2011; Schensul & Heller, 2011; Seekings, 2010, 2008, 2000; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Christopher, 2005, 2002, 2001; Smith, 2004; Watson, 2009, 2004; Madanipour, 2011, 2003; Putnam, 2003,2000; Blokland, 2003; Jacobs, 2003, 1961; Zukin, 2003; Galster, 2001,1986; Chicago school) and specifically socio-spatial integration (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013; Musterd, 2003; Ellen, 2000), this study has drawn inspiration from various disciplines: anthropology (Teppo, 2015, 2004; Ross, 2010, 2005; Broadbridge, 2001), social psychology (Bornman, 2010; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Gibson & Claassen, 2010; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003), studies on racial identity (Erasmus, 2017, 2012; Adhikari, 2009, 2005; Posel, 2001a,b; Web du Bois,1998/1899), social policy (Haferburg & Huchzermeyer, 2015; Huchzermeyer 2003, 2001; Ley, 2015, 2009; Todes, 2015; Pillay, 2008), and history (Nightingale 2012; Bickford-Smith, 2008, 1999; Christopher, 2002; Maylam, 2001; Thompson, 2001). This work

has explored the research questions and context without strict prior disciplined theoretical limitations.

Socio-spatial perspective combining space related practices and social relations

While spatiality is both a cause for and a product of social relations, the space and spatial terms become central when studying human interaction and socio-cultural urban processes (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2011; Lemanski & Saff, 2010; Teppo, 2004, p. 21; Lefébvre, 1974/1991; Simmel, 2005/1903). Early urban sociologists talked about the sociology of space (e.g. Georg Simmel, Robert Park) which borrowed from human ecology (Richards, 1907/Richardson, 2002). In his research on urban subcultures, Claude Fischer (1975) addressed the location and spatiality displaying an important attribute of human behaviour and interaction. Socio-spatial dialectic implies the interplay between people and place: "People create, maintain and shape lived spaces around them and are simultaneously socially conditioned in diverse ways by those same spaces" (Broadbridge, 2001, p. 39). Edward Soja´s (1996) idea of the "Third Space" contributes to the discourse by designating the interface between the place and social relations. While the "first space" denotes physical space and "second space" denotes mental, conceived space, the lived social reality happens in the "third space". Later scholars have introduced the relationship between a place and social constructs of ethnicity and race as producing inclusive and exclusive practices. (Lemanski & Saff, 2010; Teppo 2004; Madanipour, 2003).

Making space (Broadbridge, 2001, p. 37; Massey, 1994), or place-making is about modifying or adjusting the place to be suitable for the people´s requirements. While place affects people´s social positioning, people concurrently create and alter the space to correspond with their social needs and desires. On the one hand, people act in accordance with their social status, applying social attributes such as race, gender, class or age. In this manner, "the space is a practiced place" (Teppo, 2004, p. 21, referring to de Certeau, 1984, p. 117). In turn, people modify and adjust the place to suit to their individual or collective identities and social desires. As Teppo (2004, p. 21) notes "The social, mythical and geographical dimensions of human life manifest themselves in spatial terms and in the ways in which humans outline space and its boundaries to reflect cultural ideas." She continues by referring to Rapoport (1994, p. 482) that "spatial organization and built environments not only reflect and contain the categories of culture, but are also actively used in cultural processes, such as constructing the identities of individuals and communities."

Thornton is a place shaped by the people, consisting of people shaped by the place. While the place is produced through people and their cultural structures and characteristics, the cultural practices and traditions are simultaneously reproduced through place. As a deduction, the socio-spatial understanding of reciprocity between place, space and people and their social interaction is taken undisputed in this study.

Diverse cultural structures in shared spaces

This study builds on the theoretical discussions whether desegregation[2] automatically facilitates social integration (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013; Lemanski, 2006a, 2006b; Oldfield, 2004; Ellen, 2000). This discussion is a continuum to the early sociological dialogue of the relationship between the society/die Gesellschaft and the community/die Gemeinschaft (Tönnies, 2011, p. 50/1887). In the post-apartheid South African context, "society" has provided the desegregation, and the "community" is responsible for social integration between different race groups. Whereas for the early urban scholars, the city and urbanism were a question of a greater heterogeneity which was believed to lead to a greater tolerance between people with different ethnic backgrounds (Wirth, 2011, p. 100 /1938), the heterogeneity and historical burden of apartheid in South Africa creates a complex terrain for facilitating tolerance and social integration.

Whether the physical proximity of people presenting diverse cultural traditions produces social integration is discussed here through residential and racial contexts. For the purpose of this study, I am interested in the racial diversity presenting a cultural structure, and the neighbourhood presenting a shared space.

Javier Ruiz-Tagle (2013) has analysed residential integration of different ethnic groups in the United States. His theory on socio-spatial integration emphasizes the multidimensionality of the addressing and conceptualizing integration. He divides the theoretical frame of socio-spatial integration at macro level and socio-spatial dimensions. The macro level dimension separates the "systemic" and "social" aspects of socio-spatial framing. While the "systemic" (i.e. physical and functional socio-spatial dimensions) is characterized by adequate access to opportunities and services, and physical proximity between different social groups is defined

[2] Desegregation implies the elimination of laws, politically authoritative regulations and formal practices under which people from different ethnic or religious groups are restricted to specific or separate public facilities, neighbourhoods or schools. Desegregation is considered as a material construct, whereas integration links to a social construct.

by power and status, the "social" (i.e. relational and symbolic socio-spatial dimensions) is characterized by non-hierarchical interactions between different social groups and identification with a common ground. Ruiz-Tagle develops his frame further by discussing the four socio-spatial dimensions through the determinants of diversity and freedom. Following his frame, my study discusses the social outcomes of high diversity. In a situation of high diversity and low freedom, physical proximity is conditioned by adequate behaviour and social control. In a situation of high diversity and high freedom, the relations are expressed through participation and social capital, and collective exchange of cultural symbols. Ruiz-Tagle further reframes his dimensions through the inverse approach: The integration is addressed with its opposite, with the outcomes of indifference, denied participation, and imaginary constructs of otherness.

This links to Ali Madanipour´s (2003, p. 182,188) reasoning that despite the partial spatial freedom and social integration, the lack of access to common narratives produces and maintains exclusive practices. The unwritten rules, subtle and non-subtle signs, habits, uses of space, signal that you do not fully belong. Through her study on Johannesburg suburbs Scheidegger (2015) confirms that spatial proximity and co-existence do not automatically result in density and quality of social ties.

Ruiz-Tagle criticizes the belief that the physical proximity is expected to automatically produce social integration between diverse groups in society. He questions the inordinate reliance on physical proximity for dealing with segregation and the aims of public policies to create and nurture integration. The policy makers often have a background idea that when racially or economically diverse groups live in close proximity, the everyday contacts will contribute to the development of socially integrated communities.

Ruiz-Tagle has created a frame of "virtuous circle of integration" (2013, p. 396), which has four subsequent stages to achieve spatially established social integration. These stages are 1. physical proximity, 2. social control, 3. appropriate behaviour, 4. end of prejudice and social acceptance. When a "new" group of people move into an established area, the in-movers are expected to adopt the customs and habits suitable to the area. When the in-movers have adopted the established way of life, they are accepted and integrated into the community. In other words, the integration in this sense is the adoption of the life style of their new neighbourhood and the community by the new residents.

In accordance with Ruiz-Tagle, Oliver Bakewell (2002) emphasizes that a successful desegregation is something that can be controlled from "above", but the social integration has to involve motivated or at least inclined parties. When specifying the conditions to integrate diverse groups, class-based valuations and reciprocal gain are important criteria. Bakewell claims that gaining social coherence in a diversified community requires shared occupational position, common usage of local services and mutual benefits from relationships. While Bakewell´s point of view concentrates more on external attributes of spatial relationships than to closer social interaction, the common understanding of genuine social integration includes that the circumstances for building qualitative interaction, i.e. common identity, sharing local facilities and friendly associations, are prerequisites for social integration and cohesion. When these elements are absent, the permissive and tolerant environments for intergroup trust and inclusive identities cannot be reached. (Spinks, 2001, p. 30; Wale, 2014, p. 15; Scheidegger, 2015, p. 24).

The basis for understanding social interaction, social integration and social cohesion comes from the Durkheimian tradition (Durkheim, 1990/1893), and has been applied in this study to recognize individuals as being a product of their social communities. The collective consciousness is built on commonly acknowledged norms, beliefs and values. Structural functionalism, derived from Durkheim´s work, denotes that societal institutions (in this case race or class or religion) operate the solidarity experienced inside these institutional frames. According to Durkheimian terms South African social integration is built both on 'mechanical' and 'organic' solidarity. Mechanical solidarity signifies the interaction inside families and other close communities. Organic solidarity is a consequence of the modernization of society. Growing communities and distant social contacts change the expressions of social relationships and premises of reliance.

In addition to socio-spatial theorizing, my study draws from the contact theoretical approach, which hypothesizes that the growing interaction (Pettigrew, 2010, 1998; Allport, 1954) between different racial groups reduces prejudice and stereotyping. Allport emphasized the presence of optimal conditions to guarantee the best intergroup outcomes. Conditions for optimal contact environment include equal group status, non-competitive contacting and thus, potentiality for genuine acquaintance. Equality in life prospects and economic opportunities provide best circumstances. Allport also defined the context where intergroup contact can most effectively reduce intergroup prejudice. In addition to the previously mentioned equal status,

he emphasized intergroup cooperation, common goals and support for authorities, including unsubtle and subtle norms and customs.

The socio-spatial dimension of contact theory follows the footsteps of Louis Wirth (2011/1938) in his analysis of the city as a spatial environment affecting individual behaviour, and thus, the heterogeneity among city dwellers is bound to lead to a greater tolerance towards difference. In South Africa the debate is whether the increased social interaction is seen as an inevitable result of dismantling racist attitudes, improvement of interracial personal relationships and overall reconciliation (RB/Reconciliation Barometer, 2015, p. 12; Holiday, 2000), or whether the other social attributes (class, religion, ethnicity, language) have replaced the source of prevailing disengagement and disconnection (Hofmeyer & Govender, 2015; Cranckshaw, 2012; Thutloa & Huddlestone, 2011; Schensul & Heller, 2011; Kornegay, 2005).

The post-apartheid decades have produced increasing inter-racial contacts, but the overall reconciliation and inter-racial cohesion has not increased at the same pace. The past still influences social attitudes and relations, affecting values, prejudices and perceptions towards other population groups. Society is divided by contrasting memories of the past, and the lack of shared historical narratives. (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 411-414; Teeger & Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2007; Coetzee, 2000; Ndebele, 2000; Nuttall, 2000). The apartheid era was a "noncontact society" (Foster, 2005; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986) and the inherited lack of equal interaction is still prevalent. The people´s exhaustion due to continuous changes and renegotiating the new society adds to complexity of building unity. The cherished integration of the first years after 1994 has turned to disappointment and more inward oriented group identities.

Tredoux and Finchilescu (2010a,b) have analysed South African higher education institutions and they claim that increasing contacts are associated with lower levels of prejudice, more tolerance and higher levels of reconciliation. However, there have been some contradictory results in research conducted in education institutions. The studies on orientation to self-segregation in educational institutions show that even the younger generations tend to choose people from their own racial group in everyday spontaneous social and spatial practices (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). The so called free-borns do not automatically have more or better-quality intergroup contacts than their parents (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Soudien, 2010; Swart et al., 2010).

Furthermore, theorizing interracial integration is linked with social psychology on issues of social, individual and group identities (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010; Bar-Tal, 1998; Oakes,

Haslam & Turner, 1998; Oakes, 1987; Tajfel, 1982). The identity association of race is discussed in comparison with class, religion and place. The fact that people make prejudgments and categorizations based on their actual and desired group memberships and association groups should be taken as natural and unavoidable (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 20,37). Thus, casual contacts do not necessarily reduce prejudice while people tend to look for confirmation for their preconceptions. Stephan and Stephan (1985) argue that inter-racial uneasiness is a central determinant when addressing the avoidance or acceptance of interaction. Finchilescu (2010, p. 335-352) builds on Stephan and Stephan´s argument and defines two factors for the interracial anxiety: The prior prejudice, and the stereotypes that an individual thinks the other group/s have of him/her. The group norm theory of prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 39) addresses that the in-group or reference group develop various codes, values, standards and "enemies" to suit their needs. The form of group membership of an individual (member, non-member, desired membership) affects how he/she perceives the other groups and different members of various groups. There is no clear difference in experiencing prejudice within dominating and dominated groups. Instead, the previous mainstream method of addressing prejudice through focusing on the dominating group being prejudiced towards the dominated group has changed to cover prejudice in both directions. (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010, p. 1048-1050).

1.3 Limitations and themes unexplored

The apartheid administration had four racial categories: Asian/Indian, black African, coloured and white. According to the last official census (2011) the proportion of Asian/Indian people in Thornton was 3.4% (=197 people). Therefore, the relevance and validation of making any generalizations or conclusions of the Asian/Indian residents´ appearance and impact in Thornton was considered to be impractical. The proportion of Asian/Indian population in Cape Town is 1.4% (2011) which makes it a small minority compared to other groups. For this reason, the Asian/Indian population group was excluded from the fieldwork empirical analysis. The empirical part of this study involves the other three race groups: black African, coloured and white population group.

The post-apartheid patterns of racial distribution in Thornton shows the clear decrease of the white population. Between 1991 and 2011 the share of white population declined from 85% to 19%, a notable decrease taking place already between years 1991 and 1996 (from 85% to 65%). This lets one assume that a considerable number of white residents have moved out from

Thornton when the demographic change seemed obvious. The research on "tipping point" (Gladwell, 2000; Ellen, 2000) or "white flight" (Woldoff, 2011; Broadbridge, 2001; Christopher, 2002; Saff, 1998) in the post-apartheid context would be of great interest. However, the research material and data gathered for this study does not provide enough information for analysing whether and to what extent these phenomena have occurred in Thornton, and thus these themes have to be left for later studies.

This study analyses neighbourhood social cohesion. Many of the determinants of social cohesion are linked to social capital (Putnam, 2000,1995; Bourdieu, 1992), and using social capital as a conceptual frame might also have been a relevant option for approaching neighbourhood integration. While social capital concentrates on individual or group level network building and maintaining the benefits gained from them, social cohesion is more about the conditions of the social environment as a whole. Social cohesion is also about the social networks, socializing and participation. In addition to and as a distinction from social capital, the definition of social cohesion in this study includes the practices of using space, residents´ attitudes towards other residents´ race and their different cultural customs. Even though social capital is close to social cohesion, it has not been more widely adopted and analysed in this study. The concept deserves its own study and exclusive attention.

Lastly, this study discusses cultural differences when analysing racial relations in the neighbourhood context. However, while conceptualizing 'cultural difference' is not the background paradigm, and this study does not concentrate on comparing different racial or ethnic cultures, I have not deeply engaged with definitions of different cultures or cultural habits. The cultural differences explained, especially those in the chapter eight (8) have been drawn from the fieldwork material, especially interviews and thus leaves the definition of difference to residents and their elaborations.

1.4 Of all the places, why Thornton?

My original interest in South Africa and Cape Town arose from random accidental personal contacts with people in Cape Town, and later this interest turned towards wider understanding of the post-apartheid social order and the prevalence of the social structures inherited from the apartheid segregation.

My first research focus was on post-apartheid integration politics, and especially housing policies and their effects on integration. Residential segregation has been especially persistent, even though the national integration politics and housing policies have emphasized the dismantling of apartheid residential arrangements. The residential patterns in Cape Town especially follow the legacy of apartheid Group Areas racial divisions. There are limited number of racially mixed residential areas and a great number of people live in in-racially homogeneous environments. My personal curiosity then turned the research towards the localized lived experiences, the neighbourhood, instead of policies. In addition, the first orientation of policy research was reversed to an area where mixing had happened without policy. As I find people more interesting than policies, my interest settled in social interaction and human activity.

Next, I examined census statistics at three time-points (1996, 2001 and 2011) of all Cape Town suburbs and sorted a short list of areas with racially mixed demographics in 2011. I discussed the list with my supervisor, who due to her own previous research focus, recommended studying Thornton. So I did.

At the beginning of 2015 when starting my PhD studies, Thornton was uncharted territory to me. I had no previous links, not a single contact detail nor even a single person´s name. Since that time, the journey I´ve made to get to know Thornton and the people there has required quite a bit self-driven activity and motivation, lots of good will and friendliness among the residents in Thornton, and unexplained favourable winds.

My first contact with Thornton occurred during my first fieldtrip in May-June 2015. In my utmost cluelessness as to where to start I decided that the easiest access to the neighbourhood and its community would be through the churches. It was Sunday morning May 31st, 2015 when a taxi took me to the front yard of the Thornton Methodist Church. I was early and had to wait for the first person to open the doors. The doors were opened by an older white male. I wouldn´t call him very friendly, but as it later turned out, it was his personal way of being a bit hesitant towards everything in the world, not specifically towards me.

Then came Karin, and my dawning expedition got an incredible positive flow. This flow, I think, never ceased during my field work. I´ve often wondered whether it was just good luck or whether it was meant to be, Thornton and me. Karin took me in her arms and introduced me to the community and the community to me. Having been brought up Lutheran, I don´t consider myself an especially religious person, and the Methodist Church was unfamiliar to me. Even

the minister, who was a substitute and visitor like me, and in my opinion not at all convincing or professional in her speech, couldn´t spoil the joyful and happy vibe. The first Sunday service left me with a baffling divine touch in my soul and in my heart, and deep trust that something good would come out of this journey. I found my first interview respondents in this community, and I visited the church many times afterwards - as I did in other religious communities in Thornton. During the later fieldwork, I experienced openness towards my study, plenty of curiosity for being interested in a small "no-place" like Thornton, and residents´ willingness to contribute. Naturally, I met people that were uninterested in my work, but in a small community where I met many active community members, most of the locals showed at least some interest in my study. I spent lot of time in Thornton, but it never became my place of stay. And despite the fact that Thornton will always have a special place in my heart, first and foremost it was a study objective for me.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In the first part (A) of the thesis including chapters 1-5, I will present the contextual frame of the research and thorough research design. This part displays the various contexts which my study draws from.

First, I will justify the use of the concept "race" by introducing the historical background of South Africa. Chapter 2, "History of race and space" provides an insight into the social engineering of the past, and their impact on the post-apartheid and present social constructs. The historical presentation of race and space is divided into pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid -parts. Inside the post-apartheid section, I will also introduce themes of social integration and present residential patterns and motives of integration.

Second, I will present the demographic and socio-economic profiles of Thornton (Chapter 3). Third, I will explain theoretical considerations of the concept social cohesion and how it has been applied in this study (Chapter 4). Fourth, I will introduce the methodology and fieldwork methods (Chapter 5). This chapter also includes the discussion on research ethics.

The second part of this thesis (B) presents the empirical research analysis and it includes three chapters (6-8). Chapter 6 defines and discusses the meaning of the concept "neighbourhood", presents Thornton through the eyes of its residents, and through the worries generated mainly from outside the neighbourhood. Chapter 7 displays the social and spatial practices addressing

social cohesion by opening up the everyday practices of community involvement, community building and the use of public space. Chapter 8 presents the residents´ attitudes and behavioural manifestations in explaining social cohesion.

The third part (C), chapters 9-11, recapitulates the study, discusses the outcomes of the empirical analysis and draws conclusions from the results. Lastly, it raises themes and suggestions for further studies.

Chapter 2

The history of race and space in South Africa

The present human geography of South Africa has inherited segregation structures from throughout the history. The pre-apartheid centuries were affected by colonialism and the segregation related to it. The apartheid era (1948-1994) and extreme racial segregation have had a profound influence on the present patterns of habitation. In turn, the post-apartheid decades have aimed at de-racializing the urban space. (Christopher, 2002, 2001a, 2001b). In this chapter, I locate the "race" in its historical and present-day context.

2.1 Historical perspective on apartheid, the pre-apartheid era (1652-1948)

The time of colonialism, from the arrival of the first Europeans in the 17th century, to the 20th century British Dominion was already the supremacy of the white race. However, the diverse ethnic backgrounds and different origins of the people that lived in the geographical area of the South Africa of today engendered various mixes of ethnicity during these centuries. Groups of indigenous Africans, Khoi and San people, diverse Africans from northern parts of the continent, Zulu ethnic groups, Dutch and British settlers, their slaves from Asia, merchants and sugar plantation workers from India, French and German immigrants: all contributed to the fact that the multiple ethnic inheritances have been mixed throughout the common history. (Thompson, 2001).

When Dutch merchants first came to the southern point of Africa to look for a supply port on their journey to India, they first anchored on the coast of today´s Western Cape. Thus, the present Western Cape and Cape Town being the first colonial settlement, the diversification of the local population has its roots far back in history. The growing number of people with various ethnic backgrounds and the increasing number of colonial settlements in the Cape area led to the widespread mixing of people from different origins and cultures. Some of the offspring of this mixing later became defined as "coloured". Due to the nature of Cape Town being a melting pot for people with diverse backgrounds, the proportion of the coloured population group has always been notable and notably bigger than in other parts of the country.

The political and economic command have always been in the hands of white people. The series of laws that confirmed the privileged position of the white minority, and discriminated against the non-white population groups, had already been ordered and legislated during the era of segregation (1910-1948), which proceeded the actual apartheid era (1948-1994). This exemplifies that the racial segregation was not invented solely by the apartheid government and during the apartheid years (Maylam, 2001, p. 164; Thompson, 2001; Beinert & Dubow, 1995). In many cases, the arguments against racial mixing followed social Darwinist ideology and were universally accepted; the superiority of white race needed to be preserved (Maylam, 2001, p.168). For example, the threat of passing on diseases unfamiliar to the white population was used as an argument in favour of segregation (Maylam, 2001, p. 171; Swanson, 1995).

The use of space was always controlled by the whites in favour of whites. Already in the first half of the 19th century parts of the rural areas were set aside to accommodate indigenous people, who were considered as a surplus to the labour force needed by European settlers. Even though in some cases the land was dispensed to collectives of African tribal leaders, the control and supervision was held in white hands. (Christopher, 2002, p. 16-17; Thompson, 2001, p. 155). Urban areas were considered `the domain of the white man`, and the influx control and the migration of non-white people was tightened regularly throughout the 20th century (Nightingale, 2012, p. 365-367; Christopher, 2002, p. 36, 121; Robinson, 1996).

2.2 Apartheid years 1948-1994

The control of racial and spatial segregation in its extreme forms was most severely practiced by the apartheid administration and the leading National Party (NP) during 1948-1994. The NP was the party of white Afrikaans (Dutch origin) population, and their racial politics brought previous segregation to a new draconian level. Racial segregation was almost absolute in every aspect of life, following demands to preserve the racial purity and superiority of the white population. (Thompson, 2001, p. 187-188; Nightingale, 2012, p. 377; Christopher, 2002, p. 144).

Apartheid laws

The fundamental laws of apartheid were decreed during the 1950s and amended throughout the apartheid era (Thompson 2001, p. 190,199). The Population Registration Act (1950) ordered a

racial identity to all citizens in the country.[3] The criteria for one´s racial identity was based on somatic appearance and social adequacy. The guidelines were loose and left a wide range of interpretation to bureaucracy. However, the racial classification was a judgement of one´s social status and provided a lifetime´s privilege or disadvantage. (Nightingale, 2012, p. 371; Posel, 2001a, p. 103; Posel, 2001b, p. 58-59).

The four major race groups were the whites (European), the black Africans (originally bantu), the coloureds (those who did not belong to any other group), and the Asians (mainly Indian origin). The coloured population was at first divided into numerous subgroups (Malay, Criqua, Chinese, Cape Coloured), but soon the division into four main groups was the only one applied. (Christopher, 2002, p. 101).

The apartheid social hierarchy between racial categories was political, economic and social. White supremacy and privilege were the basis to build on. Emphasising the primacy of the white race included providing and maintaining a proper life for all whites. (Teppo, 2004). Coloured people were placed between superior white and inferior black African people. This position in the middle gave them relational benefits when compared to black African population. It also positioned them tightly under the white people, in a stagnant status, and not giving the opportunity to upward mobility. Black African people were left in the lowest rank with no legal, political or social rights.

In addition to the afore mentioned laws (the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act) of 'grand apartheid', other spheres of life were also required to be racially separated. This strategy was confirmed by the Separate Amenities Act (1953), which excluded racial groups from all possible contacts. In practice, this 'petty apartheid' meant for example separated schools, separated transport facilities, separated beaches and separated post offices. (Thompson, 2003, p. 196-198). In principle, it became possible to live your life without meeting a person with another skin colour. In practice, the contacts were ordinary, though, but the nature of the contacts was never equal. The non-white population was in inferior position, working mainly as laborers or domestic servants for white households. (Christopher, 2002, p. 144; Bickford-Smith, 1999, p. 156; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986, p. 124).

[3] The identity number had thirteen digits: date of birth yy-mm-dd (6) sex (4) race (2) control nr (1). The white South Africans racial identifier/emblem was 00, for coloureds 01, Indian/Asian 05, and blacks / bantu 08. (Saff, 1998, p. 92).

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages (1949) and later the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) were also meant to maintain the racial purity of the white population (Nightingale, 2012, p. 371; Posel, 2001a, p. 98). These acts were not applied in the mixed relationships between non-white groups. To keep the white group as white as possible, children born in mixed relationships between white and non-white people were usually given the race status of the parent down the pecking order. Racial reclassifications were possible, but not especially common. The usual desire was to become a coloured instead of a black African, or to become a white instead of being a coloured.

Residential segregation in urban areas

The Group Areas Act (1950) determined the separate residential locations for each race. This led to forced removals of the non-white population to the areas designated for them only. This meant involuntary transfers either to the other sides of the country (ten ethnically different black African bantustans, also known as, the homelands) or to the inferior areas inside the city, usually on the outskirts of urban locations. (Thompson, 2001, p. 193). While the first forced removals were explained and justified as an issue of health, over time the segregation became a question of preserving the purity of white race (Maylam, 2001, p. 168-171).

> *"It is accepted government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labour there. As soon as they become, for one reason or another, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labour market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory of the national unit where they fit ethnically if they were not born and bred in their homeland." (1967 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development)*. (Thompson, 2001, p. 193).

In principle, black African people were not entitled to live in urban areas (Nightingale, 2012, p. 365-366; Thompson, 2001, p. 193-195; Turok, 2001, p. 2351), however this prohibition was never fully executed. According to the Group Areas Act the ethnically divided homelands were the only places where black African people had a legal right to live and work. Because of the over population and limited opportunities to sustain the family in the homelands, migration to cities and illegal dwelling in urban areas dedicated to white people were common. In addition, the white population enabled non-white people residing on their plots and working for them in

the urban areas. (Nightingale, 2012, p. 374; Christopher, 2002, p. 103,116; Thompson, 2001, p. 193-194; Bickford-Smith, 1999, p. 174-175).

Nevertheless, black African presence in the cities was strongly limited. Black African people needed special permission to be able to stay in the city, and it was bound to a place of work. They had to carry a document similar to an internal passport, containing details of the bearer, such as their fingerprints, photograph, the name of the employer, the address, and other identification information. This "dompas" separated and excluded black African population from other city dwellers. (South African History Online; Erasmus, 2017, p. 16).

In Cape Town, the central and best locations were reserved for white people. While black African people were not officially entitled to urban areas almost at all, the other non-white groups, the coloured and the Asian people, were restricted to areas away from the city centre and the best suburban locations (Christopher, 2002, p. 106). While the inner-city was emptied of non-white people, and the previous black African suburban areas in Cape Flats were replaced by coloured or Indian people, the black African population was mainly left as outlaws.

The white society needed the black African workforce for low educated and low paid jobs in domestic and industrial work. To prevent the bypassing of the influx control rules, the number of non-white domestic servants in white households was limited (Saff, 1998, p. 87). African men working in low-income industrial jobs were allowed to live in separate dormitories in urban areas. They did not have a permanent residency permit, though. (Nightingale, 2012, p. 378; Christopher, 2002, p. 116; Thompson, 2001, p. 194). One of the townships allocated to black African people was Langa, a short distance from Thornton. The area had already been established before apartheid, in 1927, to accommodate the African population. Langa, named after a rebel chief and a "Rainmaker" Langalibalele, is one of the oldest townships in the country. (Musemwaa, 1993, p. 18-32). During the apartheid Langa became a "dormitory suburb" with for example Gugulethu and Nyanga. (Turok, 2001, p. 2351).

Langa and Thornton were separated by a buffer zone, the Epping Industrial area. The buffer zones (Harper, 2018; Spiropoulos, 2018; Christopher, 2002, p. 103; Goldberg, 1993, p.193), like railways lines, green fields or big roads, were typical for town planning during apartheid. Buffer areas were used to ensure that the everyday interactions between white and non-white population groups remained minimal, and demanded a crossing of clear physical, and from them engendering mental barriers.

The attempt to fulfil the law and segregate population groups was confirmed by forced removals. For example, District Six in central Cape Town, which was a lively predominantly coloured community (Fortune, 1996; Ngcelwane, 1999; La Guma, 1978) near the city centre, has become a famous example of the forced removals. In 1966 the government declared District Six a "for whites only" area, after which in the next two decades about 60 000 people altogether were removed. (Jackson S., 2003, p. 62). The new housing offered to these people, mainly in Cape Flats areas like Hanover Park, Mitchells Plain, Blue Downs and Delft 20-30 kilometres from the city centre, was modest but usually facilitated with rudimentary services like electricity and plumbing. The need for a clerical and service sector workforce in the city offered coloured people a modest form of living and permit to travel freely in urban areas.

The white Thornton

The history of Thornton goes back to 1950s, when the main part of this neighbourhood was built on the outskirts of the city centre, and in the borders of the white Cape Town. The area was originally a shooting track and residentially an empty space. Thornton has been built mainly by the social housing developer, the Citizen´s Housing League Utility Company (now known as Communicare). This company was established in 1929 to offer affordable housing to low income households.

Thornton, presumably named after the former Minister for public health, Sir Edward Thornton (Die Burger 14.7.1961), was the company´s first project to offer privately owned houses to white families. The land was obtained from the Cape Town City Council in 1944 and the first houses were in built in 1950. The Company built Thornton especially for the families that were living in Company rental houses and flats in other areas of Cape Town, and who wished to step upwards on the economic ladder to be a home owner instead of being a tenant (The Citizen´s Housing League, Forty Years of Service, 1929-1969, p. 26). The profile of the household head in Thornton in the early decades was a clerk or a railway worker, who could and would appreciate the middle-class living standards and manners. According to residents from the early years of Thornton, the area was a corner stone of Afrikaner fraternity, representing the upward mobility of working-class white Afrikaans population. The family life was centred around home, with the mother who was a house wife, integrating the local community through children and religious activities.

During the decades of apartheid, the neighbourhood was a lively and interconnected community. Public services like medical care and bus routes were well managed. The two

Christian churches (one Afrikaans, one English) had large local congregations. The primary school was Afrikaans and filled with children from Thornton families. The tennis club and bowling club gathered many locals together. According to memories of residents from the apartheid decades, there was a post office in Thornton, which had separated entrances for Europeans only (net blankes) and for non-Europeans only (net nie-blankes). Some residents explained that there were few coloured families living in Thornton, but they were not well included in the community. Black African and coloured people were seen walking through Thornton, presumably from the railway station to the industrial area or townships south of Thornton. But these people were total strangers to the local residents. Few households had coloured maids and gardeners, but when considering the socio-economics in Thornton, this was not common.

Despite Thornton being proclaimed a "white area", census statistics from 1970, 1980 and 1985 show that there were coloured and black people living in Thornton throughout the apartheid decades. In this sense, Thornton was a part of the "grey" (Saff, 1998, p. 54) Cape Town where the Group Areas Act was never fully applied. For example, Mowbray, Rondebosch East and Salt River near Thornton were also zoned for white occupation but had coloured and black communities that were never totally removed (Saff, 1998, p. 86). In Thornton, the coloured population had no or a very low level of income and had no or a very low level of education. Those who worked were either "production or transport worker" (male) or "service worker" (female) (census 1970).

2.3 Between the old and the new order, the post-apartheid segregation and integration

The change of the political system at the elections in 1994 ended the apartheid era, and all apartheid laws and segregation based on race status were abolished. The renewed constitution emphasized equality, and prohibited racial discrimination (1996 Bill of Rights, section 9). However, the thoroughgoing racialization had been infiltrated into the everyday lives and minds of apartheid subjects so extensively that the racially determined social and economic order largely remained in place (Seekings, 2017, 2008; Reconciliation Barometer, 2015; Cranckshaw, 2012; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Turok, 2001). The adaption of individuals and groups are burdened with the previous interaction of domination and subordination. Present status carries the weight of former privileges, rights and opportunities and for their

counterparts, discrimination, and inequality. (Scheidegger, 2015, p. VIII-IX). Thus, the context of post-apartheid transition makes a complex environment for social integration.

Short descriptions of the four race groups

Asian/Indian people are descendants of mainly Indian indentured labourers brought into South Africa in the 19th century. Most of these people were Hindu and had Hindi as their first language. Another section of present Indian population stems from the traders that migrated to South Africa as free men. Most of them were Muslims and joined the coloured Cape Malay community and culture when moving into Cape Town areas. The biggest Indian population lives in the Durban area of KwaZulu Natal. After apartheid, the Chinese population was classified as Asian instead of being white during apartheid. The Asian population is 2.5% of the total, and in Cape Town about 1.4%. The cultural, religious and racial overlap (Vahed & Desai, 2017) and especially the small size and minimal proportion makes examining their identity difficult.

Black African people comprise 80% of the South Africa population. The black African racial group consists of a range of ethnic backgrounds and several ethnic languages. Nine out of 11 official languages in South Africa are of African origin. These are for example isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho). 23% of the population has isiZulu as its first language, 16 % isiXhosa, and 9% Sesotho. The two largest population groups are Zulus and Xhosas, of which the Xhosas are most common in the Western Cape area. For Xhosas, knowing you clan "iziduko" is of prior importance. Zulus originate mainly from the present area of KwaZulu-Natal. They have a history and reputation of being strong warriors. African tradition bears a strong belief in ancestral spirits.

Since 1994, black African people have been entitled to full citizenship to dominate political power, to take the rights and opportunities that were excluded from them. The leading freedom fight movement the African National Congress (ANC) took control after 1994, and it still holds power in national politics. The ANC has been a rainbow organization for diverse black African people.

While the apartheid social order established diverse black African ethnicities into one category, the post-apartheid years has diversified the black African population. In addition to original ethnic differences, the in-racial diversification is to large extent economic.

Coloured people:

"For me, growing up coloured meant knowing that I was *not only* not white, but *less than* white; not *only not* black, but *better than* black."
(Erasmus, 2001)

The coloured population make about 9% of the population of South Africa, but over 40% of those in the Western Cape. The diversity inside the coloured race group is considerable. The definition for being coloured has not followed the same "genetic" logic as what it has been with the black African or white people. It was clear already during apartheid that the coloured group is not a genetic race. Its legitimacy was not being white, not being black - but being something in between. The coloured people have been called the people of mixed blood, and in some harsher definitions they were "the leftovers". (Adhikari, 2005; Posel, 2001b, p.55).

Negotiating a common identity and heritance has always been difficult. The artificial racial categorization left people with no clear sense of belonging together. During apartheid, the coloureds were chasing their common identity, but this project never really flourished. (Erasmus, 2017; Adhikari, 2005). Their ethnic diversity was a weakness in comparison with undoubtedly more unified groups of whites and black Africans. During the apartheid, the racial identity was built in imprecise determinants, all of which are based on of not being proud of being a coloured. The negative stigma had several reasons. Coloured people had no political power and could not affect in their rights and position in the white society. The interracial relationships that coloured people were born from, were considered immoral. The images of being lazy, violent, abusing of alcohol, women being obscene characterized coloured population. However, the place above the black African group was emphasized, and coloured people showed the superiority towards the "lower race". Many coloured people felt they shared the values and manners of the white middle class and wished to belong to the white group. They were called the wannabe whites. (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012, p. 88; Adhikari, 2005).

After the apartheid laws were repealed, coloured people maybe felt the most disappointed. After apartheid, coloured people lost their semi-privileged position. Competition with the African majority has caused a deterioration of their socioeconomic position. "Not black enough, not white enough" (Adhikari, 2005) characterizes coloured population´s socio-economic potential. Negotiating the collective identity was not a powerful project during apartheid, and even less so after it. (Adhikari, 2005).

White people have become a minority race group. It comprises 9% of the total population of 55 million, and 15.7% in Cape Town of the total of 3.7 million people. White people still enjoy economic prosperity compared to other race groups. The average income and education levels are clearly higher than in other groups.

White people originate mainly from two ethnic affiliations, the Afrikaner alias the Boer who are descendants of Dutch settlers from the 17th century onwards, and the British from the 19th and 20th centuries. There are also some other ancestors, mainly French and Germans. Many South Africans with British origin still hold dual nationality and have a British passport. English-speaking white people identify strongest with the Western world and global community (Bornman, 2010, p. 249). Whereas there is an overseas connection for the British origin white people, there is no other home country for Afrikaners. The heritage-based contacts with the original mother country Netherlands have ceased to exist long ago, and the Afrikaner identity is built on its heritage in South Africa. While the Afrikaners were the political and social leaders of the apartheid system, the threat of post-apartheid revenge and the fear of new conditions have affected the Afrikaner population. Their identification with the Rainbow Nation ideal is much weaker than in any other ethnic group. (Bornman, 2010, p. 251). White people are explained to favour the label "South Africans", in contrary to black African people who prefer the label "Africans" as their main national identity. (Bornman, 2010, p. 242). Even though the in-racially diverse historical and cultural traditions are strong, the white people are considered to be one entity in the society structures.

Overcoming racial boundaries? The ideal of Rainbow Nation

When the apartheid administration was coming to an end, the central figure of the previously suppressed groups was Nelson Mandela. He became the first black African president in 1994. Mandela cherished the idea of one united South Africa and urged forgiveness and reconciliation. The interracial reconciliation has been defined as "the willingness of people of different race to trust each other, to reject stereotypes about those of other races, and generally to get along with each other" (Gibson, 2004). Reconciliation was also understood as a process in which former enemies develop a shared conciliatory relationship through confessing and forgiving past misdoings (Kriesberg, 2007; Liebenberg, 1994).

Mandela accentuated that the multicultural, multiracial and multi-language people of South Africa should build the future peacefully despite the previously race group-based segregation and inequalities. Mandela adopted the metaphor of Rainbow Nation to pursue his vision. The concept "Rainbow Nation" was coined by the archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu in December

1991. He called South Africans the rainbow children of God, who should be able to live side by side instead and because of the differences. (Gqola, 2001, p. 98; Baines, 1998).

The vision and the image of the South African Rainbow Nation was widely adopted by political and business actors, national and international media at first. However, there has been a great deal of doubt, criticism and pessimism, of how the society succeeds in the uniting and reconciliation efforts. At present the attitudes of citizens reveal less trust in Rainbow Nation than twenty years ago. (Wale, 2014). The attitudes, willingness or capacity to accommodate the consequences of transformation generate tensions between the different population groups. Suspicion and prejudice do not occur only between white and non-white population groups. The struggle for land, housing and jobs have maintained the previous distrust and have produced new tensions between previously discriminated groups, especially between coloured and black African groups. (Kornegay, 2005; Brown, K. 2000, p. 204; Saff, 1998, p. 90).

Critical voices point out that the image of the Rainbow Nation demonstrating 'multi-racial' or 'multi-ethnic' was in contradiction with the idea of a non-racial society. The Rainbowism excludes criteria other than ethnicity or race in the nation building project. According to this critique, the emphasizing race ignores in- and inter-group socio-economic differences, and class and gender questions. (Gqola, 2001, p. 99). Emphasizing reconciliation has also been interpreted as blindly forgetting past inequalities and extreme oppression. The previously discriminated groups, especially the black African majority, have been forced to give up too much, while the white previously privileged population has been able to sigh with relief.

After Mandela passed away in 2013, his legacy has lost its best influence among the South Africans. The desire for a united South African identity has declined, meanwhile the racially identified identities have strengthened (Wale, 2014, p.7; Bornman, 2010, p. 139-140; Kornegay, 2005). The desire for interracial interaction has declined in all groups. The desire to learn more about the customs of the other groups has clearly diminished. In addition, the desire for more interracial talk has fallen dramatically since the first few years of the 21st century. Most striking is the drop in the coloured group: In 2003, 68% of coloured respondents expressed willingness to have more inter-racial conversation, compared to only 20% in 2013. The implication is that the post-apartheid assertion of non-racial society is in profound contradiction with the prevailing race-based constructs that are still visible in the public and personal spheres of South Africa.

Overemphasizing race?

Even if the four previous race groups were in many aspects artificial, they still play a major role in societal structures and in the minds of the people. (Southall, 2016, p. xvii; Bornman, 2010, p. 239). The idea of race is present both in everyday interactions as well as in official speech and decision making. The racial classification takes place in immigration, on birth certificates, in educational institutions, in census statistics. Politics uses race as a power instrument, and race is a basis for most economic decisions and planning policies. (Erasmus, 2017; Maré, 2014). The inequality as a legacy of apartheid is a ground to compensate previously discriminated groups' life chances. The information in social statistics, income levels service delivery access etc. are published in racially categorized forms. The critique against re-racialization of the society and the overall nurturing racial identities exists (Erasmus 2017; Maré, 2014; Thompson, 2001, p. 271-272), but so far, the racial categories have stayed fast in all levels of the society.

Negotiating between old and new in-racial and inter-racial identities

Ending the official racial segregation has changed the social position of all population groups so profoundly that the collective and individual identities have been in continuous flux. (Bornman, 2010; Oldfield, 2004, p. 190; Pettigrew, 2010). Social identities are constantly renegotiated, and people engage with several social categories and identity associations. Bornman refers to Deaux´ hierarchical structure (Bornman, 2010, p. 237; Deaux, 1993) to explain the hierarchical structure of identities. Concerning this study and South Africa, at the top of the identity hierarchy are race and ethnicity, cultural expressions such as language, and the socioeconomic position. The lower levels of identity are related to a profession or to specific interest groups. The top-level identities have the strongest influence on attitudes and behaviours. (Bornman, 2010, p. 237). An individual builds his/her identity in various environments and is influenced by multiple social forces. Social identity is formed through two-way processes with various association groups. Whether an individual belongs to a group or desires to belong to one effects identity building. In addition, people change their self-ascribed real and desired identities frequently according to social circumstances (Adam, 1994, p. 43; Adam & Moodley, 1993).

In South Africa, most people see themselves as belonging to a race. In addition to the category of race, people associate strongly with their own ethnic backgrounds. According to the previous research, the keenest relation to their ethnic background, language and culture is indicated

among black African people. The pride of being South African is common. Though, there are notable differences between different racial groups. Black African people express the most pride, and the English-speaking white people express the least. (Wale, 2014; Bornman, 2010, p. 248-250; Kornegay, 2005, p. 4.). The identity association towards the Rainbow Nation ideal is strongest among black African people, and the Afrikaans -speaking white people show the least association. However, the English-speaking white people show more liberal attitudes and wider tolerance towards multiculturalism and connecting with other racial groups. According to a national level survey, the racial identities have been strengthening during recent years, while the desire for united South African identity has declined (Wale, 2014, p. 7). However, the high identity association within one´s race group does not exclude openness towards integration, and the connection between strong racial identity and racial prejudice is weak (Wale, 2014).

Language is an important identity association among South Africans (Wale, 2014, p.16; Gilmartin, 2004). In a country of 11 official languages, identity building according to language confirms the multiculturalism and diversification. Even if English has become the most common language for all South Africans, there are other strong languages. In Cape Town, the most spoken other language is Xhosa, which is the first language for the majority of black African population in the city. The Afrikaans has been the first language for both white Afrikaner and Cape Coloureds. During the past twenty years English has superseded Xhosa and Afrikaans, parallel with the rise of new middle class among the coloured and black African people. (Thutloa & Huddlestone, 2011).

Religion is considered essential in South Africa (Southall, 2016, p.191; Scheidegger, 2015, p. 95; Egan, 2007; Chidester, 1992). People belong widely to religious communities, support the work of the congregations financially and through voluntary engagement. Most religious communities and congregations are small, local and active in their own environment. Most of the South Africans belong to Christian denominations. According to the 2001 census, the proportion of the population made up by Christians was 78.8%, and Muslims 1.5%. (Scheidegger, 2015, p. 97; Census, 2001). In Cape Town about 75% of the population belong to Christan denominations (City of Cape Town, 2001).

Is class colourblind?

The opening of the economy and the greater freedoms in society have offered the non-white groups new opportunities to become upward mobile, to gain higher incomes and social status. While the upper and middle classes have experienced increasing interracial surroundings and professional contacts across racial categories, the segregation between different classes is profound. (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010, p. 230; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). The new and growing non-white middle class is searching for its place and benefits in society. Thriving economically has been accompanied by democratization and political power, cultural and economic globalization and new technologies. (Southall, 2016; Modisha, 2008).

The political theorizing of the ANC emphasizes that the different levels of previous oppression require different levels of racial compensation. Liberation was especially fought for black Africans, and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE[4]; Lefko-Everett, 2012, p. 70) policies and affirmative action strategies have especially benefited the black African population. The employment policies favouring black Africans have earmarked governmental and public institutions jobs, and to some extent private sector employment as well. (Mattes, 2015). As Southall argues (2016, p. xvii), cultural differences and the previous pecking order between previous subordinated race groups, black African, coloured and Indian/Asian groups, has required the separating of these subgroups from each other.

Prevailing inequalities are discernible inside the black African group. There is a small new elite which has gained access to significant economic opportunities for ownership and control of industry. At the same time, most of the black African people are still poor and belong to lowest income groups. Furthermore, while most of the poor are still black African, the majority of white people belong to the middle class. (Seekings, 2008; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Posel, 2001b, p. 69; Thompson, 2001, p. 278). Material and symbolic inequalities have become major imperatives in the efforts to unite the nation in South Africa (Wale, 2014, p. 7).

[4] Black Economic Empowerment and its successors (for example B-BBEE broad-based black economic empowerment) aim at an integrated and coherent socio-economic process that will directly contribute to the economic transformation of South Africa and will bring about significant increases in the numbers of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy, as well as significant decreases in income inequalities, an increase in number of black people in executive and senior management positions in enterprises, increased income levels of black people and a reduction of income inequalities between and within race groups and deracializing business ownership. (Department of Trade and Industry Republic of South Africa publications).

Defining middle class

In this study, being included in the middle class has been defined according to the Living Standard Measure (LSM) and income level categorizations. The LSM is a composite measure of the standard of living of households. It includes a range of items such as dwelling type, telecommunications, domestic workers employed by the household, water and sanitation services on site, ownership of household consumer items and residence in a rural or urban area. The LSM has ten categories of which one is the lowest score and ten the highest. Categories six to eight contain the middle range groups, the middle classes. (Wale, 2014). The income-level statistics are divided in nine deciles, of which deciles five to seven (R[5] 6401-R 51200/household/month) signify middle-income groups. The wide dispersion of income levels regarded as being "middle" suggests that there are multiple middle classes rather than only one. In sum, these categorizations emphasize the "middle-ness" (Mattes, 2015, p. 668), being between the economic extremes, the elite and the poor.

The criticism of middle-class economic determinants being more applicable in northern societies than in the global south (Southall, 2016, p. 21; Spronk, 2018, 2016, p. 12) is paid attention to. However, the use of income level and LSM categories and economic determinants are validated because they have been created according to data produced by the South African official research institutes and the official Statistics of South Africa. Thus, defining the economic middle class in South Africa follows the local practice. Most of the latest research analysing middle class has concentrated on defining who belong to middle class in South Africa, and these studies use mainly socio-economic factors as their criteria. (Mattes, 2015; Thurlow, Resnick & Ubogu, 2015; Visagie &Posel, 2013; Rivero, Kotze & Du Toit, 2003).

Another way of defining the middle class is through lifestyle and affluence (Mattes, 2015; Visagie & Posel, 2013). According to Ngoma (2016), the 'trappings of the middle-class life' a house, a car, private education for children, a holiday and credit should be met and valued before being able to identify oneself as a member of the middle class. These ideals and practices present a universal understanding of the manners and habits of the global middle class. They have been created in the western world and thus, the middle-class culture and lifestyle are linked to whiteness (Meghji, 2017; Brown, K., 2005). Lewis (2004) used the concept of hegemonic whiteness, and Hughey (2009, p. 930) refers to whiteness as a hegemonic form of world racial order. These hegemonic values and desired ways of life have been adopted all over

[5] 1 Rand = 0,07 euro, 1 euro= 15 Rand

the globe. The essential features of being middle class are linked with socializing manners, customs and values of a 'good' life.

Socio-economic standing is closely related to the place of accommodation, the reputation of the neighbourhood and the address. Even if showing contradictory results in Summer Greens, Broadbridge (2001), for example, has claimed that the place produces the class, and the class produces the place. Location in the social hierarchy determines the access to resources, and the place of accommodation is one determinant of the location in the hierarchy. Future possibilities (Weber, referred in Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2006, p. 140) like better schools and stable property prices are important arguments when negotiating social status and to it related residential choices. According to Jackson, middle class values are built around "individual effort and home ownership" (Jackson, K. 1985, p. 136; 2003, p. 67). Middle-class suburban living has been defined as an upper-class lifestyle with a more modest budget. Suburb is the embodiment of the desire to create the upper-class lives for the middle class in the middle cultures and in the middle spaces (Silverstone, 1997). A characteristic suburban home is a down-graded imitation of the upper-class estate. It consists of a well-kept front yard, backyard with swimming pool and garden kitchen. The middle-class homeowner is a self-doer instead of being a hirer of a work force to undertake maintenance. The traditional suburbian middle class life style is also based on driving the own car, public transport being either scarce or non-existent. (Jackson, K. 1985, p. 132).

Social networks of the middle class are less dense, life is concentrated around one´s own family and home. (Putnam 2003, 2000; Broadbridge, 2001; Wellman & Wetherell 1996; Wellman 1979; Muller 1981:72/2006, 145). Leisure time activities take place outside one´s own neighbourhood, and people tend to organize their lives across greater spatial distances and through social media.

Interaction across race

During the post-apartheid decades all interracial social contacts have increased, which is natural compared to the very limited contacts before. However, the most interaction has occurred in professional surroundings and in the upper income deciles (Wale, 2014, p. 23-26). Racial mixing is a norm in professional life, schools and institutions of higher education. While the education system makes society more colourblind inside the wealthier parts of population, at the same time it contributes to the social polarization of society between poor and rural areas, and wealthier and better urban areas. Well-educated professionals across the race follow the

lifestyles of their global equivalents but are simultaneously alienated from the other extreme of society. As Finchilescu & Tredoux (2010, p. 234) have explained, the upper classes are less prejudiced and more tolerant towards the difference (in that sense colourblind), but the wider experience of differences and thus the levels of tolerance have not been much tested.

Closer socializing across racial groups is not a norm. According to national level survey in 2015, private lives continue to be segregated (RB, 2015, p. 13). Less than one-third of South Africans often or always talk or socialize with someone from a different racial group. (David et al., 2018). To find it "hard to imagine ever being friends" with people from other races or "feeling uncomfortable around people of other races" is common (Posel, 2001b, p. 50). Kornegay (2005, p. 8) emphasizes 'the social integration deficit' of black Africans. Compared to other groups black African people are much less socially integrated in various social settings (public places, work, school and class room, places of worship, engaging with sexual partners, domestic workers or socializing with friends). While other groups score over 80% on having interacted with other racial groups, black African group score 60%.

When analysing the approval for racial integration between 2003-2013, general approval levels have stayed about the same throughout the period. The peak of approval levels was reached in 2010, probably because the FIFA World Cup was played in South Africa, and it raised an enormous sense of unity and pride in being South African. School integration has the highest approval, whilst interracial marriages examined especially by Amoateng (2017) gained the least approval in all race groups. Acceptance of living in a neighbourhood where over half of the population is from a race group other than one´s own did not show any notable change in the national level surveys conducted between 2003 and 2013. The coloured group demonstrates the deepest decrease in approval levels in all the dimensions examined (school, workforce, neighbourhood, marry). (Wale, 2014, p. 25-26).

2.4 Post-apartheid residential arrangements

Political strategies and housing policy

National level central strategies are designed to achieve racial equality. In addition to affirmative action in employment, university selection, redistribution of land and black empowerment programs (BEE), this principle also applies to urban development plans and policies. From the beginning of the new regime the governmental national urban strategy has

urged physical, social and economic integration (Ministry in the Office of the President 1995, p. 24).

Two major national level social policy strategies were launched during the first post-apartheid decade. The first macro level policy the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) was commenced in 1994. It was a socio-economic policy, which mainly stressed that the housing policy is a national level priority and is hence led by the government. At the municipal level the policy was implemented through various housing subsidy mechanisms. Provincial governments allocated capital subsidies to private developers, who took care of the provision of low-cost bulk housing zones located in the outskirts of the urban space. In this arrangement, the subsidy went straight to the developer, not to the beneficiary. (Ley, 2009; Huchzermeyer, 2003, p. 595).

The second macro-level policy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was adopted in 1996 to ensure budgetary discipline and moderate expenditure. Due to the change in national priorities, neo-liberal and managerial tendencies were pushed to the front. The change in politics affected urban planning management and administration. Hence, budget discipline rather than the spatial plan became the central mechanism to achieve integration. (Christopher, 2005, p.267-268; Watson, 2004, p. 140).

While the emphasis of the politics was on basic needs during the first few years of the new regime, the next phase placed heavy stress on economic growth. Private sector investments were welcomed instead of government led social development projects. "The third way" during 1998-2004 focused on poverty reduction and macroeconomic stability. After 2004, poverty reduction and growth has occupied a leading role. (DTI 2008; Ley, 2009, p. 52). The present strategic plan (2015/2019) of the Department of National Treasury Republic of South Africa supports the development of infrastructure and economically integrated cities and communities.

According to the Constitution of South Africa (1996) all citizens are entitled to adequate housing. In the Housing Act of 1997 the principles of integration, participation and empowerment are consolidated in governmental priorities. In addition, the national housing code in the Urban Development Framework (UDF, later NUDF[6], and IUDF[7]) from 2000 stresses these same themes: integration, institutional transformation, habitable communities

[6] National Urban Development Framework 2009.
[7] Integrated Urban Development Framework 2013.

and social integration (Ley, 2009, p. 30; URP[8], 2001). While extensive urbanization and substantial in-movement to Cape Town (for example) has taken place during the past two or three decades, the pressure on the development and maintenance of urban infrastructure has been enormous.

The implementation practices of the policies are directed towards facilitating the segregated urban areas and equalizing the opportunities for people living on the far edges of the metropolitan area. Policy makers have emphasized property ownership and equal use of space for previously discriminated population groups. Home ownership and title deeds have been considered to be crucial way to overcome the previous exclusion of black African population from legal access to land and property ownership. It is also seen as an asset to the growing wealth of individual families. The first few years of the new regime had the emphasis on state subsidized home ownership, while during the past decade, various subsidized social and rental housing forms have been brought up. The latest discussion is centred around 'gap income' (Lemanski, 2017) groups: those families that are not entitled to social subsidized housing schemes due to their income levels being too high, but at the same time are not able to get housing loans from the private banking sector because their incomes are too low. The densification agendas, mixed land use plans and avoidance of urban sprawl have been intended to integrate the city and its residents physically.

Research evaluating policy outcomes

Public strategies and housing policies have engendered numerous critical studies on how the integration projects have worked against the advancement of equality and economic or social integration. For example, by building social housing in outer suburbs with no access to employment and where challenging or non-existent transport services obstruct commuting to occupational and business areas, the developments have worked against the original objective. (Levenson 2017a, 2017b; Donaldson et al., 2013; Cranckshaw, 2012; Nightingale, 2012; Seekings, 2010; Christopher, 2005, 2001, 2000; Pirie, 2005; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Huchzermeyer, 2003; Oldfield, 2004; Lohnert, Oldfield & Parnell, 1998; Saff, 1998). At the same time, "white flight" and the emergence of gated communities and housing complexes created a counter impact resulting in new arrangements for residential exclusivity.

[8] The South African Area-based Urban Renewal Programme.

Charlotte Spinks (2001) has introduced three similar phenomena that emerge when comparing apartheid and post-apartheid urban portrayal. First is the use of fear. This ("swart gevaar") was used as an argument to exclude blacks from whites by forcing them to the city outskirts and further away to black homelands. The fear of the unknown still has a significant impact on the attitudes and perceptions of different race groups. The second phenomenon is insider-outsider -exclusionism. To build gated communities or to use private business partners in order to organize security to seclude the undesirable sides of society are a common pattern in development countries and megacities throughout the world. The better-off citizens build walls to eliminate the threat of crime and the underlying fear of the Other. Even though the previously separated population groups may be physically closer to each other, the "fortified enclaves" (Caldeira, 2000, p.213, 1996) of privatized, enclosed and monitored spaces for residency, work, leisure and consumption create a new pattern of spatial segregation. The third similarity between an apartheid and post-apartheid city is spatial re-settlement. Whilst the Groups Areas Act (1950) ordered different racial groups to move to specific, in-racially unified, living areas, the repealing of the Act (1991) profoundly changed the policy statements and created numerous affirmative action housing programs. However, the basis for separate living areas was unwillingly confirmed through these actions. The purpose of these programs was to improve the already existing townships at the edges of the city and, on the other hand, encourage private ownership of property (Spinks, 2001, p. 4, 23, 30), which in turn could work as a preliminary asset in following property markets.

The similarity between apartheid and post-apartheid residential patterns discloses how the apartheid arrangements of segregation - racial ideology and public planning that underlined separated spatial and human development - continue to have a persistent effect. Public policy goals and political statements advancing social and spatial integration and equalization have not been able to overcome the salient apartheid heritage. (Lemanski, 2007; Christopher, 2005, p. 274; Mabin, 2005, p. 223; Turok, 2001, p. 2350). Instead, "new geographies of exclusion, neo-apartheid and enclavisation" (Southall, 2016, p. 186) have been established. There has been some decrease in urban segregation, but it has been relatively small, and has occurred mainly through black African, coloured and Asian/Indian people slowly moving into former white areas (Rex, Campbell & Visser, 2014, p. 7; Naude, 2010, p. 13; Christopher, 2002, 2001a).

Cape Town: racial mixing through public policy

Cape Town was the least-segregated city in pre-apartheid South Africa (Spinks, 2001, p. 3; Saff, 1998, p. 85). The city experienced a vast transformation to become the most segregated city during apartheid. At present, racial distribution in residential areas follows the boundaries created during apartheid to a large extent. Most of the people in Cape Town still live in racially homogeneous areas, and racially mixed neighbourhoods are the exception. According to the last census (2011) only about 3% of the population of 3.7 million people lived in racially mixed areas that consisted of more than two racial groups, where none of the groups composed more than 50% of the population, and where each of the three diverse racial groups composed at least 10% of the population in the neighbourhood. (See appendix 1, writer´s elaboration[9], Lemanski, 2006b, p. 569). Even though this calculation may be criticized of being based on limited and narrowing criteria that excludes integration between only two population groups, it nevertheless gives a general depiction of residential patterns and shows the limited extent of racial mixing.

The political will to establish and strengthen urban integration has not succeeded in erasing the polarization in Cape Town (Muyeba & Seekings, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2003). The divergence between economically forward-moving affluent areas and peripheral deteriorating settlements is substantial. This applies to residential polarization as well as polarized education, employment and business opportunities. (City of Cape Town, Spatial Framework 2017-2022; IDP, 2007-2012; Turok, 2001, p. 2349).

Social integration in the post-apartheid residential spatial order in Cape Town has been examined through two main approaches, both of which are related to housing policy implementations. First approach to analyse the integration through public policy has been conducted around subsidy-based housing projects, and the racial integration between the poorer sections of the population (Muyeba & Seekings, 2011; Lemanski, 2006a; Oldfield, 2004). The subsidized housing was targeted towards the most segregated section of the population, that is, black African people. In Cape Town, where the coloured group represents a substantial proportion of the population, there has also been a major need for subsidized homes for the coloured people.

[9] Calculation based on Census 2011 including all suburbs, Lemanski´s elaboration on Census 2001.

Oldfield (2004) has examined cultural patterns and practices in a racially mixed suburb of Delft South in Cape Town. Black African and coloured people moving into a mixed housing development integrated two different backgrounds and racial traditions. Both race groups brought with them their own particular histories and practices, and the negotiating between the new and old identities created a new cultural mix. According to Oldfield, the previous experiences of urban living were so deeply rooted that the everyday spatial practices and social networks were primarily based on earlier codes of conduct. However, new informal connections and communal organizations sprang up, through which new identities and interracial bonds were evolving. In Delft South the unifying factors were the common concern about security and the common struggle to gain access to new housing.

The second approach has been the analysing of areas and housing developments that have brought economic extremes of the social hierarchy into physical proximity. In practice, these housing projects have meant the building of new residential areas where a publicly subsidized low-cost housing site and a very wealthy private housing complex were built side by side or contiguously to each other. (Lemanski, 2006a). While the relationship between race and class still follows the apartheid legacy, the subsidized housing for the poor in these projects are mostly for black African people. Thus, the social interaction between residents from economic extremes also represent the interaction between race groups. Oelofse (2004, p. 91) presents the common critique that there is a risk of spatial integration to be used as a synonym for spatial integration of poor race groups with wealthier whites. Despite the relatively smooth integration in the middle- and upper-class residential zones, urban living in general continues to retain inequality and uneven spatial constructs.

Through her findings in Muizenberg and Westlake/Silvertree areas [10] Lemanski challenges the assumption that abolishing the segregation laws and constructs of separated living areas has made people of different racial groups socially more adjacent. On the contrary, Lemanski argues that apartheid socio-spatial structures have remained important and are embedded in people´s social practices and networking. Lemanski´s case studies confirm the claim that controlled social integration is extremely problematic, if not impossible. A genuine integration between people from diverse backgrounds requires willingness to interact, shared values and/or reciprocal benefits. As Lemanski (2006a, p. 575) shows in her research on Muizenberg these

[10] Muizenberg and Westlake/Silvertree are located in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Muizenberg was a white neighbourhood during apartheid, Westlake is a post-apartheid development inside the previous white areas. See more in Lemanski 2006a and 2006b.

criteria were not fulfilled. White people had notably higher income levels than the other groups and regarding the level of local services inferior, they tended to choose these functions (schools, shopping) and also social relationships outside their own neighbourhood. The adjacent developments of low-cost housing of Westlake village and the wealthy gated community of Silvertree Estate support the same conclusion.

These relationships between people from different economic and racial backgrounds never developed into an equal or natural situation, nor were they even very common. Social integration was understood as being artificial, and inter racial contacts took place in an unequal manner. Wealthy residents employed the poorer residents to provide household services, and they launched some beneficiary projects from the wealthy community to help the poorer community. The services and facilities that were built inside the wealthy community were not attainable by the poorer residents. The integration as a residential construct was a consequence of the desegregation but it did not result in overcoming the previous social structures.

A study on poor the suburb of Delft (Oldfield, 2004) adds to the claim that the politics of integration have not automatically diminished prejudice towards other race groups, or the importance of in-group identity. Despite some positive signals around community co-operation, race group-based traditions, habits and prejudices are still dividing people, and in the case of Delft, inside the same class.

Mixing without policy

An intrinsic element of socioeconomic status is one´s address and the prestige of the place of residency (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2006, p. 141). While the previous white areas are regarded better with regard to location, housing quality, service delivery, education and employment facilities, their attractiveness draws other than white people whose economic resources have enabled them to upscale. Living in the previous white areas indicates that the new residents´ social capacity is increasing. The racial mixing without policy orientation and determined housing developments is based on financial capability of the new middle class (Kracker Selzer & Heller, 2010). In Cape Town, the change of the racial distribution of the city´s suburbs has primarily been a consequence of the coloured population moving away from their previously designated areas. In addition, the most mixed neighbourhoods at present are the previous “grey areas”, those that already during apartheid had some racial mixing (Saff, 1998, p.86; appendix 1).

Whereas willingness and financial capability to move up the economic ladder have mixed the previous white areas, the black African townships have stayed entirely black. The black African population have had a larger economic backlog and their options for buying away from townships has been much more limited. The modest or none-value of their previous dwelling does not support relocation. The spiral of declining attractiveness has an impact on the already worsening living conditions and opportunities to move upwards in poor areas. Townships have gained in-movers inside the race group, and these are often migrants from other parts of the country or outside South Africa. Some of the previous coloured areas have also deteriorated and are notorious "no-go" places for outsiders.

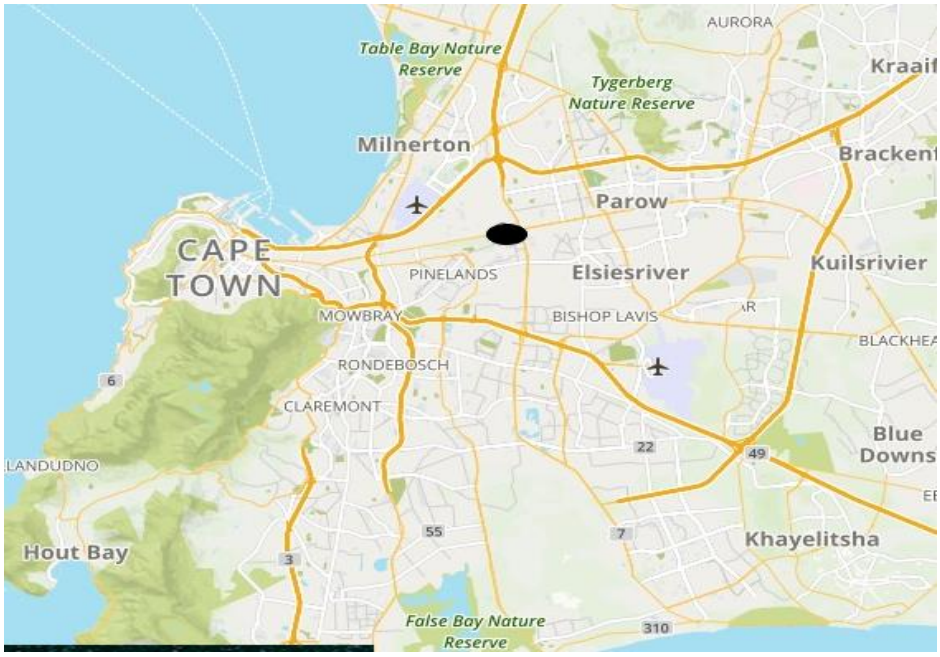
In other words, residency-based integration has proceeded slowly and has differed according to the race and the place. Christopher (2005) refers to the White-African dissimilarity index in explaining the limited residential transformation. According to this relationship, desegregation has not produced integrated residency, and the majority of urban dwellers have not experienced any change in their residential options and choices. The most striking difference is between white and black African groups while coloured people have integrated more often with other population groups. Wide income disparities categorize people according to their capacity to buy into different quality neighbourhoods and lifestyles through housing markets (Kracker Selzer & Heller, 2010; Bond, 2004, p. 44; Smith, 2004, p. 28; Saff, 1998, p. 90-91). Steven Robins (2003, p. 248) sums up the ongoing segregation by stating that the poor in South Africa are still trapped in their communities in informal townships, while the middle class live in gated communities and suburban enclaves.

The trajectory of becoming racially mixed without policy and planning measures has so far received less attention within South African academic research. The diversification that has happened 'self-consciously' (Nyden, Maly & Lukehard 1997, p. 513), i.e. without political projects and policies emphasizing integration, suffers from the lack of wide academic research. There have been case studies on spontaneously-mixed neighbourhoods in Cape Town (Meer, 2018; Kotze, 2013; Booyens, 2012; Visser & Kotze, 2008; Broadbridge, 2001) and Johannesburg (Scheidegger, 2014; Chipkin 2012; Kracker Seltzer & Heller, 2010) but the main-stream topics and subjects of inequality, poor townships, gentrification, neoliberalism, planning policy failures, and sustainability have dominated urban research. The living and choices of the new non-white middle class has gained growing attention in South African social sciences and my study adds to this interest as well as its relationship to urban studies.

My study builds on this gap in the research on middle class residential mixing and inter-racial social integration. The closest reference is research on the middle-class area of Summer Greens in 2001 (Broadbridge). This small suburb was planned and built for the old and new middle classes soon after the repealing of the Groups Areas Act in 1991. The area was built in the middle of previous white suburbs, which at the beginning attracted especially white families to purchase a new home there. In the following years, the area began to evolve into a racially mixed area, and later many of the original white owners moved away. The adaptation of racially diversified but economically equal population groups to live as close neighbours was not self-evident. Different customs and prejudice towards each other caused disputes and discontent among the residents. Even though class was a combining determinant, there were cultural differences that engendered disharmony and a clash of habits and manners. The practices of using public space and the boundaries between what was considered private and public were the biggest issue of conflict. The phenomenon of white flight was clear and later the Summer Greens area turned into non-white. My study on Thornton serves as an update to the discussion on residential and racial integration.

Chapter 3

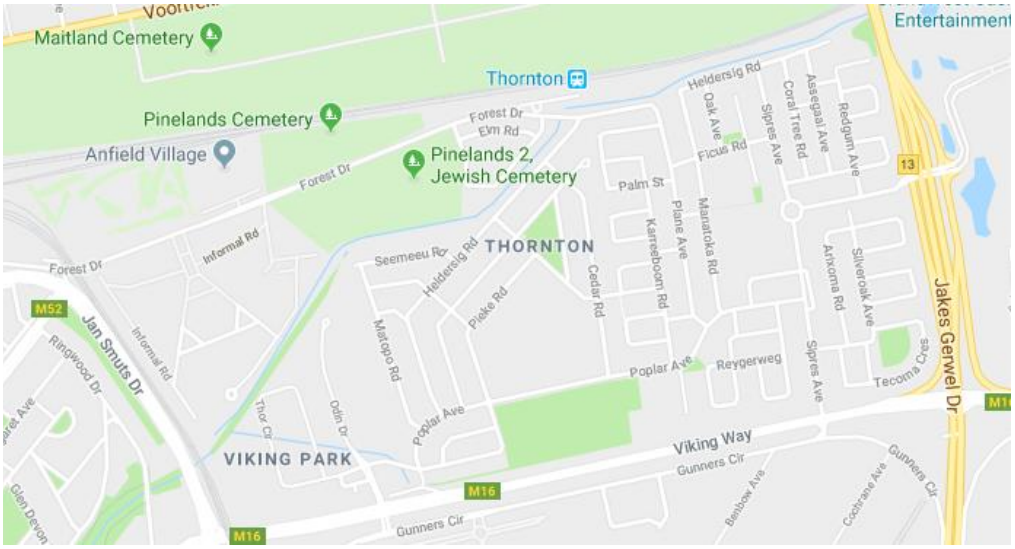
Presenting Thornton



Map 1. Location of Thornton in Cape Town [redacted], (Source: MapQuest, 2018).

Thornton is a small suburb located in the middle of suburban Cape Town, with easy access to the CBD, both the northern and southern suburbs, and to the east and out from the city. It has a clear rectangular shape of about five square km, and is framed by one highway, one expressway and a railroad line.

Thornton was built in its present form by 1986. Since then, there have been only minor new housing projects. The newest housing phenomenon is a second dwelling boom, which started less than ten years ago. Regular residents and property owners want to change their garden storages and garages into housing units and gain extra income by renting out these granny flats. There are both legal and illegal annex sites.



Map 2. Map of Thornton (Source: Google Maps)

3.1 Getting mixed

Already by 1970 there were 4985 residents, of which 4425 were white, 439 coloured and 121 black African (census 1970). The total population stayed the same until the first few years of 21st century. After this, the number increased to 5862 in 2011 (the latest census), of which 1189 (19%) were white, 2859 (49%) coloured, 1545 (26%) black African and 197 (3%) Asian.

Table 1. Thornton demographics and the racial distribution

Thornton	1951	1970	1985	1991	2001	2011
Black African	24	121	261	305	579	1 545
Coloured	41	439	360	366	1 875	2 859
Asian	-	-	7	?	121	197
White	157	4 425	3 430	3 497	2 176	1 109
Total	222	4 985	4 059	4 168+?	4 751	5 862

Thornton has received a significant volume of coloured immigration, and today this group comprises the biggest population group in Thornton. The growing in-movement of coloured people started already during the last years of apartheid. After 1991, when the group areas act

was abolished, for the first 10-15 years the main non-white immigration to Thornton was from the coloured population. The exact development of population change is presented in Table 1.

The number and the proportion of white people in Thornton have diminished significantly. In 15 year period from 1996 to 2011, the proportion made up by the white population decreased by over 60%, from 2960 in 1996 to 1100 in 2011. The decrease can be explained through both the natural ageing process (down grading and moving to retirement villages) and to some extent through the deliberate out-movement by some white people. The in-movement of white people after 1996 has been minor. However, there is no evidence that there has been a "tipping point" (Ellen, 2000; Gladwell 2000), a stage at which the number of people of colour exceeds the tolerance limits of white residents and they start moving out.

The housing markets in Thornton have also contributed to the willingness to sell the properties to new residents. The attraction of Thornton for the coloured middle class has raised the house values especially during the past ten years. This has been an appealing option for the older white generation, which should either have renovated their decade-old houses or tried to find a more carefree way of living, and who were therefore selling their houses. In addition, property taxes have risen in accordance with the rise of housing prices, and because retirement usually cuts the income level, the temptation to sell the house for a good profit goes hand in hand with the reason for doing so.

Black African people have mainly moved to Thornton since 2001. They have moved to Thornton from the townships of Cape Town, and from the other parts of South Africa. There are some foreign Africans included in this demographic group, but more accurate numbers are not available.

Asian/ Indian population constitutes a very small population group in Thornton. Many of the Cape Town Asian people belong to Muslim communities, but it has not been possible to define whether this is also the case in Thornton. Asian/Indian residents have moved to Thornton for the same reasons as other non-white people, mainly to move into a better area with a better location, housing and better schools.

The process of becoming a racially mixed neighbourhood has happened spontaneously. Nyden, Maly and Lukehard (1997, p. 513-514) have described the spontaneous mixing as a "laissez-faire" diversity. They claim that laissez-faire communities are more stable compared to the neighbourhoods where the mixing has been planned and advanced through housing policies.

Instead of being a product of social and urban planning, the mixing in Thornton has happened through individual motivation and choices. This is congruent with the American tendency of "moving to opportunity" (Musterd, 2003). Musterd has examined the ethnic segregation, spatial concentration and levels of integration in the European context in the Netherlands and in the US. In his comparative analyses, Musterd offers the two rationales for becoming mixed. The European way is produced from above, by planning ethnically and economically mixed housing and mixed neighbourhoods. The American way of becoming mixed happens through buying into better areas, moving to opportunity. The social policy orientation of South African urban planning has followed the European model of multiculturalism and integration methods. However, the process in Thornton has travelled against the local tradition and has applied the American orientation of mixing taking place through moving to opportunity (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013; Ellen, 2000). As a previously white area. Thornton has an image of having better schools, better houses and better infrastructure. From Thornton there is fairly easy access to well-known schools in Rondebosch and Pinelands. Further, Thornton house prices have been modest when compared to other "white" suburbs. Thus, Thornton has been a combination of an attractive and achievable choice for those who have strived for improving their socio-economic status.

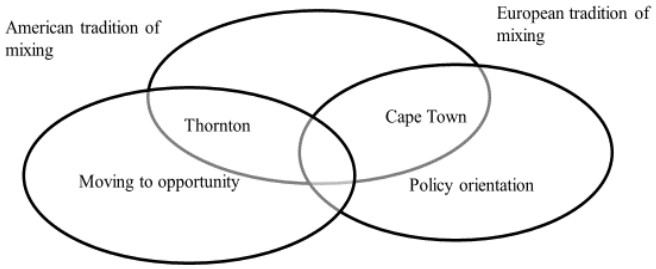


Figure 1. Thornton tradition of mixing (writer´s own elaboration).

Religion: stability and change

Most of the people in Thornton are Christians, and the historical image of Thornton is that it is a Christian area. During the apartheid years in South Africa and Cape Town, religion and race were bound so that white and black African people were mostly Christians. Many black African people practiced traditional African beliefs or the combination of Christian and traditional beliefs. Most coloured people were Christians, but there was also a relatively strong Muslim community in Cape Town to which a large number of the Asian people belonged. The determination of residents´ religion in demographic statistics ended after 2001. (Census 2001,1991, 1985, 1970).

The analysis of the present religious affiliation in Thornton is built on historical and social background information, and on interviews and observation. This indicates that the white population is exclusively Christian (excluding some of whom are non-religious). Black African people also belong to diverse Christian churches. In the coloured group some families belong to Muslim community, but most of them belong to Christian churches. The own estimation of the Muslim community is that there are between 100-140 Muslim families in Thornton. The number of Muslim families has increased during the past ten years. Christian churches in Thornton gather together about 250 members, which means, that most of the residents have their religious communities outside Thornton.

Language: change and stability

English is the most common language in Thornton. Language was last compiled in the census statistics in 2001. At that time, 75% of the residents in Thornton had English as their first language. Afrikaans was the first language for 15% and Xhosa for 7% of the population. Originally Thornton had been predominantly an Afrikaans neighbourhood, and Afrikaans was the major language in Thornton until the mid-1970s. According to census 1996, English was the first language for 63%. This indicates that the language shift to English happened already inside the white population group and during the late apartheid decades and has not been not a result of new population groups moving into Thornton. In Cape Town in general, Afrikaans used to be the first language for the white Afrikaans people and for the coloured people.

Estimation of demographic changes in Thornton after 2011

The clearest change that has happened in Thornton since the last official census in 2011 is the growing number of Muslim families moving in. This change has been substantiated both by the Muslim community and by other residents. The information is based on their observation and experience. How big the in-movement of Muslims has been, is hard to say, but the number of Muslims being near zero before, makes the change noteworthy.

The other observed change after 2011 is the continuous decrease of the white population. This is explained through the natural way of retiring, moving to retirement villages in other areas or just passing away. New white people moving in is rare. However, 'white flight' has not been especially observed. While many white people are older citizens and have a firm long lasting connection with Thornton, their willingness to move away is small. Thornton is clearly becoming less white, whether it becomes more coloured or mixed with coloured and black African population, is left for speculation.

The stability of the present stage of the Thornton racial mix can be discussed through Ellen´s frame of stability of mixing in the neighbourhood context (2000). Ellen has created a frame with some key factors indicating the probability of a racially mixed neighbourhood staying mixed. First, she refers to the length of time of the racial mix. This indicates that, the longer the history of racial mix in the neighbourhood is, the greater is the probability it will stay that way in the future. Thornton has been in constant flux during past 20-25 years and the stability and future form of racial mix is uncertain. However, the transformation from previous whiteness has undoubtedly changed permanently. The second factor talks about the general expectations concerning the future ethnic distribution of the neighbourhood, and this in turn affects the choices of the people. In her analysis, Ellen puts the emphasis on the potential white flight. The expectations of more non-white people moving into Thornton and Thornton becoming a non-white neighbourhood leads to the fact that white people no longer buy in Thornton. In addition, the coloured people constituting at least half of the population and the area being imagined more coloured may reduce the in-movement of black African people. In Thornton, one may speak of the white avoidance rather than of the white flight. Third factor makes note of the amount of rental housing. This indicates the vivid in and outflow of the residents, and the rental housing attracts single households from diverse population groups and in that way is stabilizing the racially-mixed patterns of neighbourhood residency. Even if rental housing in Thornton is not uncommon, Thornton and its image is still dominated by property

ownership. Rental housing is more common among black African residents than among coloured and especially white residents. While rental housing has contributed to the diversification of racial distribution during recent decades, the future impacts cannot be predicted or assumed. The fourth factor talks about the secure set of institutional amenities, for example universities or technology hubs, which tempt the constant flow of new people. There is a vocational school in Thornton, and it gathers students from all parts of Cape Town and outside. Most of the students do not live in the area, though. The reason for this is the lack of affordable dormitories. The absence of big institutions or employment hubs reduces in- and out-moving activity and bringing in people from diverse racial backgrounds. In sum, the racial mix in Thornton can be assumed to be permanent at least to some point. Whether the mix includes all four groups, whether the number of white people recedes from or coloured people dominate the neighbourhood, remains to be seen.

3.2 Being average and unordinary: demographics compared with the whole of Cape Town

The population of Cape Town has increased significantly during the post-apartheid decades. Between 2001 and 2011 (Census, 2011, 2001) the total number of residents increased by 29%. In addition, the racial distribution has changed. During the aforementioned ten-year period, the number of black African residents increased by 58%, the coloured population by 14% and the Asian population by 25%. White population group increased by 8%. Cape Town has still a unique racial distribution because of the large proportion of coloured people. The proportion of the coloured population in Cape Town is 42% (Census, 2011), compared to the 9% of the population of South Africa overall.

During the period 1996 – 2011 (Censuses 1996, 2001, 2011) the changes have been even more notable. The total population of Cape Town increased by 46%, of which the majority of the increase came from the black African population. It increased by 124%, with the coloured population increasing by 28%. The Asian population increased by 37%. The white population group increased by 8%.

Table 2. Racial distribution of Cape Town population in 1996, 2001, 2011.

Cape Town population	1996	2001	2011
Black African	25.1 %	31.7 %	38.6 %
Coloured	48.4 %	48.1 %	42.4 %
Asian	1.5 %	1.4 %	1.4 %
White	21.2 %	18.8 %	15.7 %
Total /number	2 565 018	2 892 243	3 740 025

Table 3. Racial distribution of Thornton compared to the whole of Cape Town.

2011	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White
Thornton 5 862	26.4 %	48.8 %	3.4 %	18.9 %
Cape Town 3 740 025	38.6 %	42.4 %	1.4 %	15.7 %

As these figures show, compared to the whole of Cape Town, Thornton has a population distribution near the average. However, being average does not mean being typical. Thornton is an atypical neighbourhood because the overall residential segregation in Cape Town has remained prevalent.

There are some distinct features in the Thornton age structure as such, and when compared to the whole of the city. The number of the white population aged over 65 is clearly higher than the Cape Town average. In addition, when we take note of the fact that the white population in the whole of Cape Town is also on average older than other population groups, the difference in Thornton is even wider. While 22.9% of the white population in Thornton belong to the age group 65+, the average in Thornton belonging to this age group is 8.8%.

The number of children (under 15 years) in Thornton is lower than on average in Cape Town. This tendency can be recognized in all race groups except the Asian group in Thornton. In Thornton the percentage of white children under 15 years of age is 11%, whereas in the other

groups it is 21-22%. The statistics show that the new residents are mainly young families and working age (15-64 years) households.

Table 4. Children under 15 years in Cape Town and in Thornton (Census, 2011).

Age group under 15 years	Cape Town 24.9 %	Thornton 19.9 %
Black African	27 %	21.6 %
Coloured	26.7 %	22.1 %
Asian	19.8 %	22.1 %
White	14.9 %	11 %

In sum, Thornton represents the average when considering the general racial distribution in Cape Town. White residents are on average older than other groups, both in Thornton and in Cape Town. The general racial distribution of the city as a whole conceals the fact that geographically racial distribution spreads highly unevenly, and in this sense, Thornton is an unordinary space.

3.3 Socio-economic indicators compared: Thornton and the whole of Cape Town

Income levels and employment

In this analysis, the income level presentations follow the same division used by officials and that are created by Statistics of South Africa. There are nine income categories, of which the first four denote no income to low income levels. In practice, this means R 3 200 (€ 220-250) or lower monthly income per household. Of the population in Thornton, 16.4% belong to these income categories, compared to 47% in the whole of the Cape Town. This boundary mark of R 3 200 is significant considering the national level housing subsidy policies and allowances.

Thornton is clearly a middle-class area. The employment rate is high 93%, and the income-levels above the average in Cape Town. Two-thirds of the households belong to the income deciles five to seven, earning R 6 401-R 51 200/month. In the whole of Cape Town, the equivalent percentage is 21.8%. The highest incomes in Thornton are among the coloured and the Asian people, the lowest among the white people. Thornton´s racially categorized income

distribution is an anomaly in broader comparison. When looking at the national average per capita, monthly income for someone in the black African middle class is considerably lower than the average income in the white middle class (Burger, Steenekamp, van der Berg, & Zoch, 2015; Visagie, 2015). In Thornton, the non-white residents in general have higher income levels than the white. In addition, the white residents have lower income levels in Thornton than what white people have on average in Cape Town. One explanation for lower incomes of white residents in Thornton is their age and being retirees. When compared to the average of the Cape Town white population, their lower income levels suggest their socio-economic status of not being wealthy middle class.

Table 5 shows income deciles five to seven (5-7) distribution in Thornton, divided in racial categories. The equivalent percentage showing the whole of Cape Town is showed in brackets ( ).

Table 5. Monthly household income in Thornton (2011), deciles 5-7. (Census 2011).

Income/R	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White
6 401-12 800	20.4 % (8.0)	14.7 % (17.4)	10 % (15)	20 % (15.9)
12 801-25 600	27.5 % (4.6)	26.2 % (13.4)	35 % (20)	24.3 % (22.9)
25 601- 51 200	19.7 % (2.4)	28.3 % (7.4)	30 % (18)	16.4 % (22.2)

Thornton´s standing above the average in socio-economic standards is due to the fact that there is a huge poor population in Cape Town as there is in South Africa overall. Thus, the proportional stance of belonging to the well-off part of the population does not mean that the residents of Thornton could be called particularly wealthy. The main economic characteristic is a self-sufficient household with a housing mortgage or non-subsidized rental housing, own car, enough income to run the family and life without constant uncertainty, and to educate the children in the good schools.

Level of education

The comparison of the level of education provides an interesting and broadened view of the population profile in Thornton. In general, the level of education among the residents in Thornton is notably higher than the Cape Town average. The percentage of those who have passed grade 12 or higher is 76.4%, compared to 47% for the whole of Cape Town.

When compared in-racially, the education level of the white residents in Thornton is lower than average for Cape Town. In Thornton, the proportion of white population who have accomplished grade 12 or higher is 71%, compared to 82% for the whole white population in Cape Town. In all other racial groups this connection is reversed. Over 86% of the black African population in Thornton have achieved an education level 12th grade or higher, compared to the city level average of 39%. The corresponding percentages for coloured population are 74% and 36%, and for the Asian population 86% and 69%. In conclusion, the newer residents in Thornton are better educated compared to the older residents and compared to the Cape Town average. While the black African people´s education level is in general the highest, their monthly income level scores in the seventh decile (R25 601-R51 200), frequently less than coloured and Asian people do.

Type of housing

Over half of the residents in Thornton live in a privately-owned house or flat. There are some inter-racial differences, though. Most of the black African people are renting their housing, whereas for the other population groups the main form of occupation is based on ownership. The average flat size is two bedrooms, and two to three bedrooms for a house. Social housing[11] is non-existent.

Table 6. Tenure status in Thornton 2011. (Census 2011).

Tenure status	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White
Owned	31.1 %	56.7 %	60.7 %	66.4 %
Rented	63.5 %	41.3 %	29.3 %	32.1 %
Other	5.4 %	2 %	-	1.5 %

3.4 Thornton in the city administrative structure

In the city administrative structure Thornton belongs to Ward 53 with neighbouring Pinelands, Epping Industria, Bokmakierie, Ndabeni, Observatory, Maitland and parts of Mowbray. (See Map 3, p. 62). There are 115 wards in the city (2017) as a whole. Each ward is led by the ward councillor, who is also a member of the city council. City council and ward councillors are

[11] Social housing denotes the city or the province owned subsidized housing for households with low or no income.

elected in municipality elections every five years. The councillor managers her/his ward and leads the administration work. The present ward councillor of Ward 53 has held the office for over 30 years. Ward 53 belongs to Subcouncil 15 with wards 52-57, including areas north and west of Thornton. There are 24 sub-councils in Cape Town. While the city emphasizes bringing decision making as close the residents as possible, the sub-council structure is used to guarantee that the residents´ voice in decision making and various issues of interest is heard. The sub-council committee members represent the ward area resident associations, and the committee addresses questions on all administrational sectors, including service delivery and health care issues.

The city renewed its administration districts at the beginning of 2017, and this has had only a minor impact on the position of Thornton. There were some changes in the ward districts, for example removing township of Langa from Ward 53, but the significance of this act for Thornton and its residents was minor.

3.5 In between, comparison with the neighbouring areas

Thornton is located in the middle of major highways and is easily accessible from the CBD and from the southern and northern suburbs of Cape Town. Similarly, the location of Thornton is suitable for those needing to commute to the occupational and recreational sites around the metropolitan area.

Thornton and its neighbours have both common and distinct spatial and social landscapes. The neighbouring residential areas were all previous “for whites only” areas that have become more racially mixed than the average racial mix of Cape Town. In addition to this historical similarity produced by racial segregation of Cape Town, the neighbours differ from each other in various ways. Thornton stands between and in the middle.

Map 3. Thornton between Pinelands and Ruyterwacht (Google Maps).

Pinelands on the west side of Thornton emerges frequently in the town planning and geographical books because of its Garden City concept (Howard, 1902/1965). Pinelands is referred to as a famous example of this town planning model. It is an old neighbourhood, still mainly white despite of some racial mixing. Its socio-economical stance is undoubtedly well-off middle class; not extremely wealthy or rich, but clearly better than all surrounding areas. The income and education levels of the residents are higher than in Thornton. Pinelands has a population of about 14 000, of which 62% are white, 15 % are coloured and 13% are black African (Census, 2011). The proportion of elderly people, particularly among the whites, is much higher than the Cape Town average and also in Thornton.

Ruyterwacht on the other side of Thornton has a very different image. In the early days, in the 1930s Ruyterwacht was also built according to the Garden City ideal. The streets were wide, and open yards and green areas were to create a pleasant and an attractive environment. Even if it also was originally an area for whites only, the image and socio-economical position was and still is somewhat different from both Thornton and Pinelands. (Teppo, 2004; The Citizens´ Housing League 1929-1969).

Like Thornton, Ruyterwacht was built by a social housing company. It was built for a different category of people, the 'poor whites'. The undesirable group of poor whites was a social and political headache for the apartheid regime, and Ruyterwacht was one remedy to lift the economically and socially disadvantaged white people. At the beginning, the houses were rentals, company owned, and people chosen to live there were meant to be raised to reach the

standards of the white race. Some of them succeeded, others did not. (Teppo, 2004). Ruyterwacht was known as a racist community and a stronghold of white supremacy even after the end of apartheid. Today Ruyterwacht has a population about 11 000, of which 51% belong to coloured, 33% to white and 11% to black African group. Its socio-economic standing is notably lower than that in Pinelands and lower than that in Thornton.

Thornton is mentally and physically, economically and socially between Pinelands and Ruyterwacht. Its income level and social status stands in the middle - it is better off than Ruyterwacht, and worse off than Pinelands. People from Ruyterwacht have moved to Thornton to improve their life, to become a home-owner and go forward in life (Teppo, 2004). People in Thornton seek the same path by placing their children in Pinelands schools and by hoping to be able to buy a house in Pinelands in the future.

The unemployment rate reveals economic differences of these neighbourhoods. In Pinelands, the latest rate (2011) is 4%, in Thornton 6% and in Ruyterwacht 14%. All these areas are doing extremely well compared to the Cape Town average figure of 24%. The level of education confirms the argument. In Pinelands, almost 90% of the adults have 12^{th} grade education or higher, and 60% have completed education higher than 12^{th} grade. In Thornton, about 76% of the adults have been educated to 12^{th} grade or higher, and 37% higher than 12^{th} grade. In Ruyterwacht, 46% have an education level of 12^{th} grade or higher, but only 9% higher than 12^{th} grade. The corresponding numbers in Cape Town overall are 47% and 16%.

Table 7. Population distribution in 1996, 2001 and 2011 in Pinelands, Ruyterwacht and Thornton. The proportion of each race group / suburb. (Collected from the Censuses from 1996, 2001 and 2011).

Pinelands Ruyterwacht Thornton	1996 / %	2001 / %	2011 / %
Black African	Pinelands: 3 % Ruyterwacht: - Thornton: 9 %	Pinelands: 6 % Ruyterwacht: 2 % Thornton:12 %	Pinelands: 13 % Ruyterwacht: 11 % Thornton: 26 %
Coloured	Pinelands: 5 % Ruyterwacht: 20 % Thornton: 23 %	Pinelands: 8 % Ruyterwacht: 34 % Thornton: 40 %	Pinelands: 15 % Ruyterwacht: 51 % Thornton: 49 %
Asian	Pinelands: - Ruyterwacht: - Thornton: -	Pinelands: 3 % Ruyterwacht: 2 % Thornton: 3 %	Pinelands: 5 % Ruyterwacht: 1 % Thornton: 3 %
White	Pinelands: 89 % Ruyterwacht: 76 % Thornton: 61 %	Pinelands: 84 % Ruyterwacht: 62 % Thornton: 46 %	Pinelands: 62 % Ruyterwacht: 33 % Thornton: 19 %

The comparison of the three neighbouring areas reveals that Thornton started to become more mixed first and is still the most mixed, Pinelands has stayed the "whitest", and Ruyterwacht has the least black African residents. The proportion of Asian population is very small in all neighbourhoods compared. All three neighbourhoods are more mixed than Cape Town suburbs in general. The presumable explanation for Thornton and Ruyterwacht gaining more non-white residents is their affordable housing compared to Pinelands. Moreover, many residents in Thornton would prefer to be living in Pinelands, and many previous Thornton white and coloured residents have bought houses in Pinelands when financially possible. The small number of black African people in Ruyterwacht may be due to the previous Afrikaans poor white and racist image of the neighbourhood (Teppo, 2004). Thornton, even though being also white and an especially Afrikaans area, did not have the same racist image.

3.6 Reiterating the research design and moving forward

In the material above, I have described the research environment, the historical background of apartheid segregation, and post-apartheid integration projects. I also discribed the socio-economic profile of Thornton, in comparison with its surroundings. While residential racial mixing is not the norm in South Africa and Cape Town, Thornton has a somewhat atypical distribution of racial groups. The strong racial and ethnic identities and the awareness of the "other" still holds tight in South African society, and "race" is embedded in the minds and practices of a large part of the population (Wale, 2014, p. 20). Thornton is economically homogeneous, a middle- or more like lower middle-class area, and the absence of class-based inequality provides a legitimate surrounding for analysing race inside the class.

According to Pirie (2015, p. 345) the research on suburban development has concentrated on few, mostly poor areas, and it lacks follow-up studies. Pirie has analysed the post-apartheid urban research "bibliography", and found that the research has been concentrated on urban problems. My study does not concentrate on "problems", nor does it discuss solutions. It analyses the phenomenon of social cohesion and whether race plays a role in the neighbourhood social practices.

In a broad sense, my analysis of neighbourhood socio-spatial practices draws from Talcott Parson´s theorizing about social systems and social action. The structure of social action (Parsons, 1968/1937) and cultural customs are discussed by using the frame of conceptualizing

social cohesion. I employ the concept of social cohesion in exploring how race is visible in the neighbourhood social practices, interaction and the use of space. Thus, I will next define how the social cohesion is determined and how I have used it in my analysis.

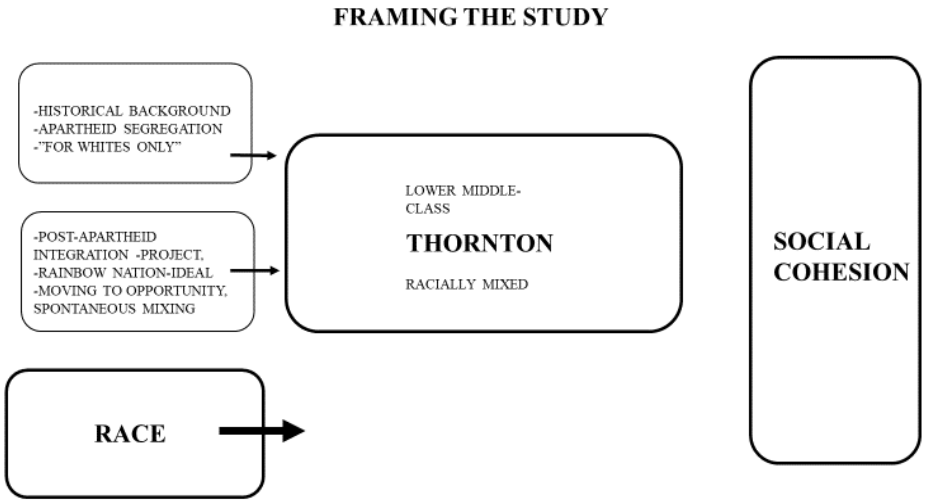


Figure 2. Update of the research design.

Chapter 4

Defining social cohesion

4.1 The complexity of being both ambiguous and unequivocal

In this chapter, I will define and validate the use of the sometimes abstract and vague concept of social cohesion. While in common usage social cohesion refers to circumstances or a state of togetherness, "sticking together" (Angell & de Beer, 2016), playing well together, or "getting by and getting on" with the dull routines and social relations of everyday life (Angell & de Beer, 2016; Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2127), this chapter aims to build a more explicit and precise definition of the concept.

Social cohesion is often understood as being similar to social integration. This connection of conceptualizations is recognized and to a certain point agreed in this study. However, there are clear distinctive attributes, that separate these concepts. When social integration addresses the processes and trajectories, social cohesion links to the overall state of conditions and circumstances. When social integration refers primarily to getting and being close to or getting to and being at the same "level" in a social entity, cohesion rather refers to the sense of belonging together and the unity of a certain social entity. In the context of this study in South Africa, social integration is mostly referred to as socio-economic integration, and is used as an incentive to achieve more equal educational, professional and residential circumstances, and to integrate different groups in society. While the objective of this study, Thornton, has already been integrated according to this incentive, the cohesion goes beyond the integration. In the next pages, I will present the explanations and definitions of the concept of social cohesion on which my perception and employment of the concept in this study builds on.

First, the concept is discussed through some recent public and social science discourses. In the field of social sciences, two practices to analyse social cohesion have dominated the research. The first is policy-oriented research and the second is sociology and social psychology-oriented research. Next, the concept is described through pluralistic definitions used in social science research. These first sections are descriptive and explanatory. Finally, I will outline how the use of the concept in my analysis builds on previous research definitions and how I have interpreted social cohesion in my analysis.

In recent years, the concept of social cohesion has received substantial attention in political debate (in Europe, South Africa and globally) and subsequent social policy research (Angell & de Beer, 2016; Jenson 2010, 1998; Chan et al., 2006; Friedkin, 2004; Berger-Schmitt, 2002; Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Social cohesion has been used in public debates representing a policy objective at both national and supranational levels (Angell & de Beer, 2016; Chidester, Dexter & Willmont, 2003). The societal and political objectives have included the reduction of social inequalities, stressing solidarity and strengthening social relations (Gough & Olofsson, 1999). In South Africa, the National Department of Arts and Culture defines the social cohesion "as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities … this with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all". (DAC[12]) .

In addition to policy orientation, social science research has had to focus on social cohesion from the perspective of human interaction and social attachment. My analysis draws from this sociology and social psychology-oriented research. Thus, social cohesion is approached and explained through every day social practices, face to face contacts and networking at the neighbourhood level. In this sense, neighbourhood social cohesion builds on the meaning of Tönnies´ "Gemeinschaft" and refers to community instead of society. Even though Durkheim´s conceptualization of mechanic and organic solidarity has linkages to my analysis, I find his theorizing too complicated to apply in explaining locally accommodated social cohesion.

These early sociological traditions have been followed by many later researchers. According to Berger-Schmitt (2002) social cohesion deals with all aspects aiming at strengthening social relations, interactions and ties. In determining social cohesion Lockwood (1999) has emphasized strong primary networks at the local level. Cohesion is built on mutual solidarity and the sense of belonging. The cohesion requires a certain homogeneity, shared values and sense of belonging. Social bonds of solidarity, who is in and who is out, indicate the inclusion and exclusion of the community. (Jenson, 2010, 2002; Jeannotte, 2002; Jeanotte & Stanley, 2002).

The definitions of social cohesion are most commonly discussed and pursued in the environment of diversified societies, and/or after notable societal changes. While the differences and diversity affect and separate communities, neighbourhoods, values, and ways

[12] Strategic Documents, Department of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa.

of life, the desire for social cohesion and its determinants are continuously negotiated. The relationship between pursuing unity and accepting diversity is constantly challenged and redefined.

In their theoretical exploration of the concept of social cohesion, Angell and de Beer (2016) explain the prerequisites for "sticking together": These are trust, help and cooperation between the members of the community, sense of belonging, and behaviour and acts producing and nurturing the cohering thinking and willingness to integrate. Kwenda (2003, p. 75) goes further and emphasizes that in defining the terms for building cohesion, the need for sensitivity to the values, hopes, fears and aspirations of the Other are essential in producing cohesion. In addition to the emotional and psychological conditions of cohesion, Angell and de Beer emphasize the importance of behavioural manifestations, i.e. acting in accordance with the thoughts and attitudes. For example, the high level of willingness to integrate is meaningless without proper action, active building of social contacts and participation.

There are contradictory views whether values are essential in explaining social cohesion. Kearns & Forrest (2000) and Angell and de Beer (2016) include shared or common values in their definitions, and Chan et al. (2006) claim that social systems may have a high level of social cohesion without shared values. Conversely, as Jenson (2002, 1998) has pointed out, shared values may build borders between the cohesive community and its outside. When cohesive communities are too aware of their collective identities, too cohesive, the exclusivity against outsiders is strong. Then a paradox can grow of a community, society or a neighbourhood being simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, cohesive and segregate. (Jenson 2010, 2002).

Even though social scientists have applied the concept of social cohesion in various contexts, a unanimously clear definition has not been presented (Jenson 2010, 1998). Kearns and Forrest claim that social cohesion is an imprecise concept despite it being assumed that everyone understands what it means (Kearns & Forrest, 2000, p. 996). Critical voices describe social cohesion a "quasi-concept" (Toye 2007, referring to Bernard,1999), a euphemism for social coercion or social control (de Beer, 2014, p. 2), or a subcategory for social order and social equilibrium (Jenson, 2002). Consequently, the need for a more varied and multidimensional approach to social cohesion has motivated a search for pluralistic definitions and versatile theoretical frames.

4.2 Pluralistic definitions

The lack of a precise definition of social cohesion has led to several pluralistic approaches (Angell & de Beer, 2016; Chan et al., 2006; Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Jenson, 1998). These approaches build on the presumption that the best way to define social cohesion is to use multiple attributes and classifications.

Jenson (2002, 1998, p. 15-17) has created five dimensions through which she defines social cohesion. Her policy-oriented analysis talks about macro-level social issues, but are applicable in smaller communities, including neighbourhoods. The five dimensions, each including two counterparts, are: belonging and isolation, inclusion and exclusion, participation and non-involvement, recognition and rejection, and legitimacy and illegitimacy. Each pair reflects the extremes of either advancing or preventing social cohesion. The first pair refers to shared values and sense of identity; the second pair refers to opportunities in economic markets; the third pair concerns political participation; fourth pair involves tolerance of diversity; and fifth relates attitudes to political and social institutions. I apply Jenson´s model in a few aspects: neighbourhood social cohesion is discussed through the sense of belonging and sense of not belonging, through inclusive and exclusive everyday practices, and through participation and non-involvement.

Kearns and Forrest have discussed social cohesion in urban environments and urban policies. They have identified five dimensions in defining social cohesion: common values, social order and social control, social solidarity, social networks, place attachment and identity (Kearns & Forrest, 2000, p. 997-1002). Beauvais and Jenson (2002) have applied the same determinants, adding civic activity to the defining dimensions. My analysis of social cohesion builds on similar determinants.

Chan et al. (2006, p. 293-294) have used horizontal/vertical dimensions and subjective/ objective components to define social cohesion. Two dimensions address cohesion in civil society and state-citizen cohesion. Two components address feelings of trust and sense of belonging, and to them associated behaviour.

Table 8. Aspects of social cohesion, by dimension and component. (Chan et al., 2006).

	Subjective component	Objective component
Horizontal dimension	General trust with fellow citizens	Participation, vibrancy of civil society
	Willingness to cooperate and help fellow citizens	Voluntarism and donations
	Sense of belonging and identity	Presence or absence of major inter-group alliances or cleavages
Vertical dimension	Trust in public figures	Political participation
	Confidence in political and other major institutions	

Angell and de Beer (2016, p. 6-7) outline five conditions that portray a high level of social cohesion. For the first they state that people trust, help and cooperate with each other. Second, people accept and respect others who are different from themselves. Third, people share a sense of belonging. Fourth, people manifest these values, feelings and attitudes in the way they behave. Fifth, people manifest a high level of participation. Angell and de Beer emphasize the importance of the last condition for securing cohesion in the situations in which one of the first four is not fulfilled. Active participation and civil society compensate for the absence of the other conditions.

To summarize, all the aforementioned conditions showed that conceptualizations and multidimensional definitions overlap widely with each other. Even though many pluralistic definitions focus on society-level analysis, the conceptualization and cohesion explaining sub-concepts (sense of belonging, participation, shared values and social control) are equivocal to smaller communities and applicable in the neighbourhood analysis. Thus, my analysis of neighbourhood cohesion follows pluralistic conceptualizing and builds on above presented (Angell & De Beer, 2016; Chan et al., 2006; Jenson, 2002, 1998; Forrest & Kearns 2001) definitions and theorizing.

4.3 Applying models of social cohesion in this study

In this study, the concept of social cohesion is used to analyse neighbourhood interracial relationships and interracial integration. The focus is on residentially-based social and spatial practices, interaction and networking functioning as basic elements for supporting or

preventing cohesion. The neighbourhood-based approach is justified by arguing that even though social networks have become less territorially limited, the neighbourhood is still a significant arena for community building, identity associations, networking and socializing. Location-specific "social seams" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 267; Anderson, 1990), the spatially conditioned situations and local points of contact, combine people and bring communities closer together. Even if the social networks are less spatially determined in the modern world, the living environments and neighbourhoods have not lost their standing as places for feeling togetherness, sense of community and social attachment.

To begin with, social cohesion is understood as a shared sense of community in which the mutual sense of belonging and inclusive forms of thought and behaviour are prevalent. Neighbourhood cohesion addresses the common identification of "us" or "we" among or against "them" or "they". Social cohesion thrives when all residents identify themselves as Thorntonians, being local and being part of the community.

My understanding of sense of belonging draws from sociological conceptualization of social belonging. Early sociologists defined social belonging as inclusive cultural resemblance. For Parsons (1968b), social belonging was about attachment and loyalty. Edward Shils (Turner 1999, p. 137) talked about sense of affinity. Merton (1966/1957) distinguished between different reference groups and different association models: those an individual belongs to, and to those which an individual wish to belong to. Individuals may be members, non-members, candidates for membership or autonomous non-members. Friedkin (2004, p.410) has built on the membership approach, and he asserts that belonging involves membership attitudes and behaviours. The stance and behaviour of an individual varies according to which category of membership state he/she belongs to. Gabriele Pollini (2005) has explained social belonging by describing four dimensions of human involvement. The first dimension is territorial location, which does not necessarily impose social relations between the individuals. The second is ecological participation, which involves at least some interdependence, but does not include solidarity. The third is social belonging, which is inclusive, and the community works as the frame of reference for an individual. Fourth is cultural conformity, which entails shared values and symbolic features of unity. My analysis builds on these ideas and employs a range of sub-concepts to reinforce the validity of reasoning.

Following/building on Chan et al.´s modelling (Table 8), I have developed a two-dimensional - two-approach frame in which the dimensions are divided into either contributing to social

cohesion or preventing it. This rationale draws from Jenson´s (2002) modelling of counterparts (belonging-isolation, inclusion-exclusion and participation-non-involvement). The two dimensions are discussed through two main approaches: "social and spatial practices" and "mindsets". The approach of social and spatial practices addresses the collective forms of behavioural manifestation for contributing to or preventing cohesion. It addresses shared spaces as inclusive or exclusive, and the sense of belonging and the sense of community by analysing community activity, community participation and patterns of using public space. By studying both organized and spontaneous interaction, this approach shows the potential and actual platforms for integration and social cohesion. The second approach addresses the mindsets and attitudes of the residents, and the individual behavioural manifestations related to them. This approach includes openness and willingness to integration by analysing the positive and negative opinions and thoughts, and preconceptions towards other groups. In addition, it explains the ways individual residents behave according to their opinions and thoughts in their everyday social interaction and social practices.

Values as an independent variable has not been included in the analysis model, because it was regarded too complicated to operationalize. However, values are understood as being embedded in all other determinants. Values are thus discussed when explaining the empirical results to show how they explain cohesion contributing and preventing components.

This analysis is built on explaining social cohesion and using "race" as a specific variable. Racially identifiable activity and participation, use of space and openness between residents from different race groups form the core in explaining social cohesion. Race is paid attention to and observed throughout the analysis, and thus it penetrates all components and categories of the analysis.

Table 9. Social cohesion by dimension and approach (writer´s elaboration).

	Contributing to social cohesion	**Preventing social cohesion**
Social and spatial practices		
Collective behavioural manifestations of belonging	Participation, Community building	Non-involvement
Use of public space	Integration in public places and spaces	Racially biased use of space
Mindset		
Attitudes towards other races	Tolerance, Acceptance, Trust	Prejudice, Stereotyping, Social Control
Individual behavioural manifestations	Friendship links, Interracial contacts	Non-interest, Apathy

When analysing the qualitative data, this two-dimension, two-approach chart was applied to categorize the research material. Data for socially and spatially determined practices was gathered mainly through observation, and the data for mindsets, attitudes and individual behaviour mainly through interviews. The methods for gathering and analysing the research data is explained in detail in the Chapter 5 (Methodology).

This analysis concentrates on explaining the contemporary state of neighbourhood coherence, and thus does not classify cohesion as being a desired or undesired outcome. Even though the reasoning for analysing social cohesion derives from the post-apartheid integration project and the Rainbow Nation ideal, this study does not value cohesion as being a goal which should be reached or not reached. Instead, it discusses the conditions and circumstances affecting social cohesion. Through building the theoretical frame around contributing and preventing elements, the background paradigm is exploratory in both ways.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the methodology and the applied methods of my study. The integrity and validity of this study are justified through the transparent and honest presentation of the methodological process and the fieldwork methods used. Research ethical questions and self-reflection are reviewed throughout the methodological presentation, especially when discussing the researcher´s position and integrity in conducting interviews.

My study is qualitative, and I have applied ethnographic methodology. Traditionally ethnography was based on anthropology, and the need to examine and understand cultures and people in their natural surroundings. Participant observation as a methodological tool was essential. Ethnographic fieldwork orientation was later brought into sociological studies focusing on understanding (Verstehen/Weber), the human aspect of social phenomena and social interaction structures. Thus, research dialogue travels between an objective reality and a subjective understanding, between a description and an interpretation. Science philosophically this study has followed constructivist epistemology and acknowledges the knowledge being produced through human and social constructs, and in human and social interplay between the researcher and the objective.

This study has travelled between inductive (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and deductive methodology, including both exploratory and confirmatory research approaches. Thus, I would classify my approach as being abductive (Douven, 2017; Peirce, referred by Grönfors, 2011) while exploring between the empirical and theoretical approaches in different phases of the study (Lämsä, 2015).

The empirical part was led by a "guiding principle" (Peirce, in Grönfors, 2011, p. 17): the existence and practices of interracial integration. However, the exact concepts for the analysis, and hypothetical ponderings arose only during the fieldwork. Thus, the research was inductive in the first stage, giving voice to the fieldwork material. Despite the prior conceptual and theoretical consciousness, the principle of "preparedness for being taken unprepared" (Reichertz, 2007, p. 221) was applied in gathering the material. In later phases, the theoretical approach was included, in carrying out the analysis and interpretation. The data analysis

followed the content analysis, using sub-concepts of social cohesion (see Table 9, page 73) as key words and units of analysis. The categories were built on broader explanations of contributing and preventing elements including the sub-conceptual codification. To sum up, the codes and categories of analysis arose from the data gathered and were given a theoretical frame and background in the course of the research.

I carried out the main ethnographic fieldwork during my scholarship year (2016-2017) at the University of Western Cape (The Institute for Social Development). During this time, I had alternate phases between terms of intensive fieldwork, and terms of semi-intensive periods. Contacts with Thornton and its residents were active throughout the year, though. The main material for the study was gathered during the 11 months stay in Cape Town, up to which a shorter but intensive three-week period of field work took place in May-June 2015. In addition to these fieldwork periods, a check-up visit was carried out in January 2018. During my stays in 2016-2017 and 2015, I made use of the Libraries of the University of Cape Town, Western Cape Government libraries and archives, and the National Library of South Africa, met public officials in the provincial and the city administration, and established contacts with local researchers especially at the University of Cape Town. I consider the fieldwork, including all social occasions and active and self-driven interaction with people from various backgrounds in various contexts, being the core strength of my study. I was able to approach people from academia, public administration and especially Thornton residents actively and openly. The residents were of different ages, genders, religions and races and the interactions were open and friendly. It was possible to feel comfortable in different social situations, an all these things contributed to my study.

The ethnographic fieldwork in Thornton included interviews and observation. Interviews were semi-structured, following the pre-formulated questions and themes, but also providing space for personal stories and free dialogue. The observation was mainly non-participating observation, even though the number of interactions and visits to neighbourhood communities was frequent, and a good number of connections were made. Non-participation is here understood as attending a meeting but not taking part in any substantial conversation or other activity. The borderline cases between being a participant or non-participant observer are discussed in the section 5.2.

5.2 Ethical deliberation on the researcher position and the research object

Researcher positioning was bound to the idea of being an observer, not a participant nor a member of the Thornton community. While grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b; Gubrium & Holstein, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and even more so, ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1984) emphasize the constructivist nature of research design, in which both the researcher and respondent are active subjects in the research and interview situations, my study departs from these methodologies by applying the researcher position differently. First, the interviews, even though conducted in the conversational manner, were directed by me. Second, the other forms of interaction and involvement in Thornton were treated in the context of being a visiting researcher. The decision to remain an outsider was rationalized by the idea of being as neutral as possible towards people contacted in different circumstances and situations. Because it would have been impossible to be actively involved in many communities during the fieldwork periods, it was useful not to be actively participating in the work in any of the communities, and possibly be somehow identified through one community or association only. Thus, to most of the residents I met in different communities and occasions, I became familiar as a researcher from afar. In addition, this orientation follows the anti-romantic approach (Lämsä, 2015, referring to Silverman 2005, 2006) in qualitative studies. It is not possible to reach an authentic experience of the respondent, and thus, the conscious distance is a chosen practice. To my understanding, this outsider researcher positioning contributed to the openness towards my interview, meeting and community observation requests.

While both the researcher and respondent carry their past and present experiences with them, both research actors are products of their personal context. (Silverman, 2006, p. 118). The transparency of positioning of both parties is a question of research reliability and validity. Even though the actors´ contexts: gender, ethnicity, age, education or other background factors, affect the interaction situations, which was recognized throughout the fieldwork, the need for the hyper-self-reflexivity (Meincke, 2016, p. 59-60) was considered to be excessive. The acknowledgement of the existence of the different actors´ contexts has been considered enough to qualify the interview and observation situations, and the data collected from them. The overall transparency of my work and interest in Thornton was built on the honesty of the research focus and the objectives of my work throughout the fieldwork. The openness and responsiveness were the same with all the people and communities contacted, and the rapport was a central principle throughout the fieldwork.

I consider the fact that I was clearly an outsider, from as far away as Finland, to be a constructive factor when contacting people. Thus, even though my somatic appearance is clearly white, mostly I did not feel that I was burdened by ethnicity, race or nationality. Rather, coming from afar and being interested in Thornton raised positive curiosity, and residents in general reacted with openness towards my research and me. In some cases, I sensed that the unexpected interest in their small and unknown neighbourhood was very welcomed among the residents. Furthermore, the writing of a doctoral thesis was highly respected, and I believe that being considered a professional researcher, helped my way. I did not experience my gender playing any role in any other occasions than in contacting members of the Muslim community.

Being a white person, I experienced mainly a contributing factor, and only in minor cases caused a sense of hesitation due to my skin colour. My first contacts in Thornton were unintentionally with white residents, but these incidental contacts opened the doors to the community and helped me to further my involvement. In some cases, my skin colour caused curiosity. This happened during the observation days at the railway station, where my skin colour was outstandingly different from everyone else´s. However, when opening up a discussion with black African and coloured commuters, all people stopped and listened to what I had to say. Most of the passers-by greeted me politely, “good day mam”, and showed special interest in me standing at the bottom of the exit stairs. Whether this politeness can be explained by my white skin colour, is of course not clear, but it raises a question whether the legacy of privileged colour still plays a role in these unexpected public space encounters. An interesting anecdote concerning the personal experience of racial prejudice occurred when I joined a small black African group from Langa in a Jazz -concert outside Thornton. A black African man from Thornton introduced me, a white woman, to his township friends with the words: “She´s one of us” –after which his friends accepted me to sit beside them at the same row and were very friendly thereafter. While I was introduced, one of the women said that she had suspiciously wondered why I am sitting next to them, but “one of us” broke down the barriers.

During the fieldwork, in only one interview session did I sense a hidden dislike, which of course might have been caused by my personality, but which I reasoned to be because of my skin colour. In addition, I sensed clear prejudice from some Muslim men when trying to find a contact in the Muslim community on the front lawn of the Thornton Mosque before the beginning of Friday worship. My appearance clearly stood out from the other people present; a woman, white, non-Muslim clothing. After this first negative reception, I was later welcomed to join the Mosque and got friendly contacts with some Muslim community members.

I assume that the fact that I came from "white reality" did have a certain impact on how I was treated and talked to. However, as I cannot say or know from which discussions or customs or language I was possibly excluded from, I just have to make notice of the possible contingent circumstances. Whether I had been a white or black South African, a male, a coloured American or Chinese, probably would have had an impact on the reaction and reception I received from the residents in Thornton. But this speculation I consider too 'hyper-self-reflective' because of the constructivist science philosophy and because my social and somatic and attributes are what they are. And most probably the main results of the analysis would have been the same anyway.

On a few occasions, there was an unclear border between being a participating or non-participating observer (Grönfors, 2011, p. 49-50). I recognized this obscure position when visiting the different religious services. While I do not personally follow any of the local denominations in Thornton, I did participate in the service rituals in each community. I stood up when everybody else did, I was singing along if I could, I wore proper clothes and made my contribution when the offertory was collected. Participation in these cases was mainly enjoyable and resulted from my respect towards the community traditions. In addition, while I got to know few of the residents more closely, the time spent with them was in a way participating in their lives, even though it was considered leisure time and 'non-research' time for all parties.

While going into the local community and imposing on the privacy of the residents, the attention had to be paid to the consequences of my research. Both the neighbourhood as a whole, and each contacted resident were met with respect and especially with the principle of not causing any harm or damage to the objectives. Thus, I felt some hesitation in bringing to open and giving a written form to some of the harshest prejudiced statements. However, the non-identifiability of refereed respondents, and honesty to show the reality as it was seen and heard in every aspect, resulted not to bowdlerize the data. On the other hand, I believe that showing a special interest in Thornton, and discussing the area with the officials in the city and provincial administration has raised the awareness of Thornton´s challenges, such as traffic jams and the neighbouring illegal shack village. Further, in many of the interviews, the residents learnt from me about the existence of the Thornton Facebook pages and perhaps later joined the group, which in turn contributed to their interest and being included in the neighbourhood community. All in all, I believe my research efforts raised the awareness of the

Thornton residents that they live in a specific neighbourhood, and that if Thornton is a place of interest to outsiders, why not to the residents themselves as well.

5.3 Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured, and questions followed the research design and layout. The interview sessions were led by the researcher, so that the same questions and themes were handled in every interview. In addition, the need to set further questions and leading the wandering conversations back to the topic was paid attention to. However, the interview sessions were primarily conversational and in many cases were based on discourse (Warren, 2001, p.83; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Mishler, 1986). The trust of the respondents was achieved through the delicate approach and to cultural sensitivity (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p. 18). The delicacy and sensitivity in this research context were understood as recognizing and respecting the respondents´ personality as such and expressing his/her ideas and the rhythm of expression. The interview routines for approaching people of different ages and personalities, visiting their homes, and being polite and decisive at the same time, improved during the fieldwork.

The purpose of my research and the interview in question were explained at the beginning of each interview. The permission to record the interviews was sought in every session, and the decision was solely left to the interviewee. In few cases, respondents showed hesitation towards recording, but only one interviewee asked for the recorder to be turned off. Then, the decision of the level of openness and willingness to give broad or narrow answers was left to respondents. In some cases, the recording was not done due to the noisy surroundings, for example in a café. The confidentiality for maintaining the anonymity of all interviewees has been assured during the process of material gathering, data processing and writing.

The sampling of the respondents was intentional, following the Generic Inductive Qualitative Model (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Hood 2007; Straus & Corbin, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and focusing on gaining an equivalent representation of each racial group. Achieving the equal representation was reasoned to base on either having equal proportion of each population group or the proportional share of each group compared to the whole population in Thornton. While the first contacts in Thornton were created through the Methodist Church and the older white members there, their proportion became larger than their proportional share of the whole

population. During the later phase of fieldwork, the proportions of the interviewees and racial backgrounds were balanced through more selective sampling.

Finding of the interviewees was processed in two ways: snow-balling and active searching. The snow-balling had many starting points, and for this reason different segments of respondents were reached. One of the paths started from the Methodist Church and became more or less "a white line" of the interviews. Another snow-ball started from another friendship link, from outside Thornton. This link introduced me to a person in Thornton, a resident who was an outsider from the traditional community networks and associations. This contact started a snow-ball including his neighbours and random acquaintances in Thornton, and those contacts fed me even further. The third snow-ball began at the railways station, where the black African male I contacted introduced me to his family and friends as well as his more distant acquaintances. My personal active search took place through religious communities and civic associations. All this has given me a selection of both community activists, and those not involved in any of them, and those between these extremes. Table 10 shows the number of interviews sorted by race, gender, and approximate age.

Table 10. Summary of conducted interviews, by race and gender and by the approximate age-range and average age.

	males	females	age range	average age
Black African	8	10	21-60	38
Coloured	10	9	19-60	43
White	10	7	45-80	60+
Asian	1	1	50	50
Muslim	1	1	53-57	55
Total	30	28		

Fifty-eight residents were interviewed, 37 of whom were interviewed in an organized setting, either in homes or at cafes or church. Two of the interviews were a group interview with three and four residents. Twenty-one interviews took place spontaneously in public places, mainly at the railway station and in the school yard. Twenty-three interviews were recorded, and detailed notes were taken from all interviews (recorded and not-recorded). The pre-arranged interviews followed the structured questions (see appendix 2) in more detail than the shorter (10-20 minute) interviews in public places. The shorter interviews were centred around themes

of a respondent´s perception of change in Thornton, contacts and friendship links across the race, the involvement in neighbourhood activities, the characterization of Thornton, the sense of belonging and personal experiences on interracial relationships.

The proportion of three main racial groups was equal, and thus it did not match the distribution of each group from the whole Thornton population. The over representation of white people and the under-representation of coloured people is a cause of practical processing in the field. While the share-based sampling felt too complicated to achieve, the equal share -policy was considered to be reliable and valid. Two groups were totally missing from the interview sampling: young white people, and young coloured women. The absence of the first group is explained through "not found", and the latter "not willing" and to some point "not found". The age differences between racial groups is also due to the patterns of residential in-moving. The non-white in-movers have been working age people and families, and then, the in-move of white people, and especially with children, has been sporadic. While the older whites have not been willing to move away, and their children have moved out a long ago, the age distribution has become racially biased.

In addition to resident interviews, some officials and representatives of public institutions were interviewed, and discussions held with them. The ward councillor was interviewed three times and met on several other occasions. The principal of the primary school, the head of the Cape Town College (Thornton branch), and the communication manager of Communicare (housing developer) were interviewed once. The special adviser for the Western Cape Premier Helen Zille was interviewed and we met twice to discuss the Conradie development. Some residents were contacted in dual roles, representing the background community or association, and as an individual resident. On these occasions, the role of being a representative of a certain local community was separated from the role of an individual resident. The dual role was not a cause of contradictory views or opinions in any of these interviews. To maintain confidentiality, the respondents´ privacy is respected by not exposing the more detailed information is not exposed.

The audio recordings were transcribed, and notes of observation and intuitive perceptions were added. Each meeting and interview were reported right after the occasion, no later than two days after, to prevent the failure to recall the nuances and details that had been observed. The transcripts and notes were later coded and categorized using the frame of social cohesion (i.e. tolerance, prejudice, social control, friendship links) presented in detail earlier.

5.4 Observation

Another main method, observation, was used throughout the fieldwork, in addition to the interviews. I did not live in Thornton, and the participating involvement into the community was not the intention. The choice not to dwell in Thornton was based on safety issues and limited suitable rentals available. Even though Thornton is considered to be fairly safe when compared to Cape Town and South Africa in general, the growing crime rate, increasing thefts, violent robberies and house break-ins provoked the view that special attention and caution was reasonable, especially when strolling or driving around the area alone. Moreover, following the tenet of non-participating observation (Grönfors, 2011, p. 50) the idea was that deeper interaction and communication between the local people and the researcher is not prerequisite for gaining proper information. I did not immerse myself into the local customs more than a visitor would do. However, the regular visits to Thornton communities, homes, public institutions and places made the area and many of its residents familiar to me, and the field relations were formed mostly mutual and friendly. I became more or, at times, less welcomed guest. Despite the exception of different religious traditions inside the Muslim faith and the customs in the Mosque, the practices of every-day life in Thornton did not particularly differ from my own sphere of life.

Most of the observation material was gathered through the longer, 11-month fieldwork period. The average number of visits to Thornton during the first four months (from mid-July to mid-November 2016), was four days per week, and later the average was between two- to three days per week. During these visits, there were countless informal conversations and encounters, for example around civic association meetings, at the café, election day voting cue, and at the Heritage Day party and Christmas lunch. All visits and encounters were documented either in a research diary or in a private diary. Many informal conversations were written up; however, many were just abstract and un-recorded small talk discussions. I consider these free flow and occasional discussions as accessing what is important, worth a small talk, to local people in their everyday lives. Also, they worked as spaces for observing who is taking part in discussion and if there are smaller social groupings or friendship links inside the communities. And further, informal small talk was a way to get to know the local people and introduce myself to the community.

The civic association meetings (TRRA, NHW, Thornton Act) were observed and recorded in two ways. First, the observation of what was the course of functions, the issues and people´s

opinions that were discussed. This was used as background information for what was happening in Thornton that interested people. The second and the more important observation was the detecting and recognizing who is attending. At every meeting, I counted the people that were present, acknowledging the race and gender of all participants. I carried out the same procedure in the religious communities where I observed both the ceremonial part and then the population distribution.

The method of counting was applied in other places as well. Especially, it became a useful tool when observing and analysing the railway station and its surroundings, the street view and open areas. In institutions like the primary school, SOS -village, college and retirement villages, the observation was conducted through a general view of people, while the more exact information of their racial distribution was conducted through official information channels, and by interviewing the personnel.

Table 11 shows the number of observation occasions, visits to communities and public places during the both fieldwork periods in 2015, and 2016-2017.

Table 11. Statistics on observation.

Observation	2016-2017	2015
TRRA	3	
NHW	1	
Grace Church	3	1
Methodist Church	3	1
N.G.Kerk	3	
Thornton Islamic Community	2	
Thornton Act	5	1
The Primary School	1	1
Cape Town College	1	
SOS -Village	1	
Kendrick House		1
Thornton Place		1
Conradie open day	1	

In addition to these numbers, there were many interview-related visits and informal visits to Thornton. Driving around the neighbourhood especially for observation of the general street view and public places was done about 15 times, at different times of the day. The number is an estimation (drawn downwards), because this calculation was not recorded after October 2016. The Flamboyant Café was visited about 15 times, spending from 15 minutes up to three hours at a time. The railway station was observed four times during the afternoon peak hours, approximately two hours at the time, and counting the in-coming passengers. The rationale for the chosen schedule was that most of the commuters during this time were those who lived in Thornton and were coming back home from work or their place of study. The outgoing passengers were most probably those who worked in the Epping Industrial Area or in Thornton and were going home through Thornton station. Both shopping centres, the central Dennehof, and the Viking Park on the southwestern corner (identified to serve manly the Epping Industrial Area) were mapped and each shop visited. The shopkeeper or owner of each business facility was briefly interviewed to learn where the main customer segment came from and how closely the business was related to the Thornton neighbourhood and its residents.

Each observation session was documented in a research diary. Coding and categorizing were conducted according to the frame of social cohesion, following the codes and categories of the content analysis conducted.

5.5 Facebook analysis

This study has employed Facebook analysis only as a supporting method. The use of social media in social science research has introduced new ethical challenges and lacks clear ethical guidelines. The border between public and private is not always clearly determined, and the "ownership" of the published information is often unclear. (Kosinski et al., 2015; Zimmer, 2010). While the principle of informed consent was absent when using social media material, the use of quotations and personal postings in the presentation has been avoided. I have used two direct quotations, for which I got permission from the people who posted them, and one photo for which I got permission from the person who uploaded it. Otherwise, social media were analysed without paying any attention to individual identities. The Thornton Facebook group is a closed community, and membership approval is required. My membership request and thus access to the group was accepted. I adopted the status of an observer not taking part in discussions.

Facebook was especially examined through two rationale: the areas and themes of postings and discussions, and the racial distribution of the participating members. Two separate temporal phases were randomly selected for each approach. However, I also followed Facebook throughout the fieldwork and later.

First phase was a two-month (July-August 2016) temporal attendance in observing the content of all postings. The rationale for the Facebook content analysis was to learn about the common interests and integrative themes that residents bring to the public discussions, and the volume of the emerging debate around these issues. The total number of the initial postings was about 400 during this period. The content of these postings was categorized according to their subject. All postings were thus divided in eight categories. While there was overlap between the issues, some of the topics were listed under two categories. As the use of Facebook had not been considered the prior material for this study, the categories were not built in strict form. The discussion categories created were: "Neighbourhood related information delivery", "General information delivery", "Commercial marketing (renovation services, laundry)", "Need for commercial services (household services, dressmaker)", "Crime", "Lost dogs", "Social responsibility", and "Civic engagement".

The second rationale for analysing Facebook content was the racial distribution of the members and the racially defined discussion activity. This analysis was also used as a supportive method in the scope of the whole research project. Analysis of the racial distribution of the Thornton Facebook group and activity was run over two periods, the first of three weeks and then another two-week period in September and October 2016. The racial background of each poster was identified. In addition, the racial background of posters of each commenting posting to the original one was also identified. Second, the racial identification of all members was examined on a randomly-selected time point on 16 October 2016. The weakness of these methods is that about 13% of the members could not be racially identified. This was due to there being either a non-definable image or missing identity information. Even though the Facebook material gathered was rich in nature, its more detailed use should be left to further studies.

5.6 Secondary material

During the first fieldwork period (2015) and at the beginning of the second (2016-2017) a free form questionnaire (appendix 3) with open-ended questions was distributed, with information

being gathered from 75 residents. While the first contacts in Thornton took place in Christian churches, 60% of the questionnaires were collected around these religious communities. Because of the inadequate sampling (concentrating on Christian communities) the responses concerning community activity, social networks and friendship links led to some biased responses. Thus, the use of the questionnaires has been centred on analysing the residents´ characterization of Thornton, their perception of the changes in Thornton, and their original motives to move to the area. Twenty-one questionnaires were collected during the municipal election day on 3 August 2016 in the primary school yard. The rest of the questionnaires were collected randomly in the Flamboyant Café, on the streets, and at the Thornton Act meetings. Of the questionnaire respondents, 44 out of the 75 responses were from coloured respondents, 21 were from white, four from black African, and six were not defined. Thirty of the respondents were male and were 45 female. By age group, the 16-25 years group had 14 respondents, 26-55 years group had 34 respondents, and 55+ years group had 27 respondents.

Cape Town Census Statistics were used to examine the development of the population distribution, and other socio-economic determinants. The pre-1996 information was obtained from Government Publications at the University of Cape Town Library, and the census information from 1996, 2001 and 2011 were gathered from the City of Cape Town´s official web-pages. This statistical information was re-organized to suit the needs of this study. The scarce archival newspaper material concerning Thornton was obtained from the University of Cape Town Special Collection. Historical information was collected from the history of the Methodist Church and old leaflets from the 1950s (Thornton Adverteerder/Advertiser), which were obtained from residents. Property market information, and the development of property prices were collected from the Property24 -webpages, in which the trade statistics from the past ten years have been compiled, and two real estate agencies (Remax, Seeff) were visited in Pinelands Howard Centre. Crime statistics were collected from the South African Police Service, Crimestats, and locally, from Thornton Neighbourhood Watch. Finally, aerial maps (years 1945,1953, 1988, 1996, 1998) were acquired from the City Maps unit of the City of Cape Town and Google Maps.

(B) NEIGHBOURHOOD IN IMAGINATION AND PRACTICE

Chapter 6

"The Best Kept Secret in Cape Town":

(Sandra and Clive Justus 5.6.2015)

Neighbourhood in imagination

While the neighbourhood is what the residents think it is (Meegan & Mitchell, 2001, p. 2173), 'how residents feel and think about their neighbourhood is neither trivial nor insignificant' (Caldeira & Holton 2015; Caldeira, 2010,1996). Further, the cognition of belonging, 'who is felt to belong and not to belong is crucial for the neighbourhood´s social integration'.

6.1 Neighbouring makes the neighbourhood

Early scholars of urban sociology and founding members of the Chicago school (Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth) defined the neighbourhood a socio-spatial environment where primary relations among residents dominate. In discussing and understanding the neighbourhood, the community was essential. The community referred to the space-specific closeness, mutual attachment and affinity among the residents. (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2011, p. 19-20). William White has built on this discourse. According to White (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2011, p. 199) the essential character of the neighbourhood is 'neighbouring', the existence of social networks and friendship circles among the people in the same area. Kearns and Forrest (2000, p. 1000) have supported this claim by highlighting that neighbouring makes the neighbourhood. For them the modern neighbouring involves the existence of "weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973) of friendship (Pahl & Spencer, 2006).

While the connectedness between spatial locations and social networks has decreased in the modern world, urban scholars have come up with more variation in defining neighbourhood and community (Blokland, 2003; Davis, 2003; Galster, 2001, 1986; Nyden, Maly & Lukehard, 1997). The spreading of social networks through social media and across neighbourhood borders around the metropolis has left the neighbourhood in a minor position when determining

the individual community association and spatially determined community formation. The new stage of urban socializing is called "community without locality" (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2006, p. 186) and the lack of neighbouring produces and is produced by the "bowling alone" (Putnam, 2000, 1995) lifestyle. Ann Forsyth (2018/2019) stresses that "suburbia is just a myth" embedded in history, while in reality global suburbanization has tremendous heterogeneity and difference (Hamel & Keil, 2018).

Due to the transformation in the ways of being social the role of the neighbourhood community has also changed. The identification with neighbourhood and community have evolved along with the modern development of global citizenship, urbanization and urbanism as a way of life. The cosmopolitan identities (Robins, 2003, p. 251; Berger & Huntington, 2002) are built on individual, self-interested and autonomous citizenship, and the communities are primarily created on non-neighbourhood basis of personal ties (Wellman,1979). Social networks are based on other than residential occupancy; for example, profession, class, religion or ethnicity. (Blokland, 2003, p. 37,63).

Blokland (2003, p. 157) has analysed the ways modern people understand and rationalize their neighbourhood. She recognizes four interpretations of the purpose of a neighbourhood. First, the location has no special importance to the residents. They are more oriented to their personal home and family than the surroundings. Despite good relationships with the closest neighbours, people tend to seek their social life across neighbourhood borders. Even though the relationship with the closest neighbours is friendly and even mutually helping, the sense of community is not identified around the area of living. The community privatization (Blokland, 2003, p. 122-123, referring to Weber), which means the family-oriented dwelling instead of neighbourhood orientation, is an expression of the transformation to a rational oriented society. According to Peter Muller (2006, p. 145,1981), emphasis on family privacy and families pursuing their own upwardly-mobile aspirations do not encourage the development of extensive local social ties. Neighbouring is limited and selective, and even socializing with relatives is infrequent. People invest in dogs, guns, surveillance and crime defence rather than in social capital, neighbour relations or neighbourhood safety networks (Putnam, 2000, p. 144).

Blokland´s second interpretation is that the neighbourhood is used for practical purposes. This means for example to have a roof over one´s head, or that the area has good connections to work and schools. Third, the symbolic use of neighbourhood contributes to affirming other spheres of life. For example, a painter emphasizes his professionalism and identity by living in

an area filled with colleagues and art galleries. Fourth, the neighbourhood is related to a certain lifestyle, for example bohemian or upper-class ways of living.

However, as Scheidegger (2015, p. x) has pointed out, the space and place still have specific emotional significance for human relations. There is a need for determining and living in "a good neighbourhood" (Brower, 1996). The neighbourhood continues to be a place for building and promoting social networks. Weak ties, place attachment and sense of belonging tie people into the local community and collectivity (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001; Henning & Lieberg, 1996; Granovetter, 1973). Even though weak ties do not automatically promote close friendship links; at the neighbourhood level, they play an essential role in social cohesion (Angell & DeBeer, 2016, p. 9). Common interests in overall comfortability of the environment, safety or service delivery issues are place-based attributes that residents pay at least some attention to and are thus open to getting together to ensure their existence and continuation. A "good neighbourhood" is built on and strengthens psycho-social benefits, like a sense of belonging and collective identity (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001, p. 2104).

The separation of the concepts 'neighbourhood' and 'suburb' is not apparent. While the suburb presents more clearly the mere administrative and geographical construct, it does not self-evidently exclude the social character of a specific suburb. The neighbourhood is most often understood as a smaller entity, even though a suburb can also be small in geographical and population size. The original idea of suburbia being invented by the middle classes for the middle classes was created out of particular social values (the nuclear family, domestic life, home ownership), "the collective effort to live private lives" (Mumford, 2011, p. 95; 1938, p. 456,467,482), and economic forces and town planning practices (Broadbridge, 2001, p. 40). The initial character of a suburb later evolved to portray a residential area outside the city centre including different population segments, for example a suburb as a working-class settlement.

In this study, the use of "neighbourhood" when describing Thornton is reasoned through the small size of the area, through its unanimous socio-economic character and through the existence of neighbouring and obvious weak ties. Even though Thornton has features of a sleepy suburb, due the competent portrayal, systematic practice and textual coherence the concept of neighbourhood has been applied throughout the text.

6.2 "The Best Kept Secret in Cape Town"?

During apartheid Thornton was a lower middle-class area in which people wanted to build a good middle-class way of life, including family orientation, neat front yards and gardens, and nice street views. Everybody knew each other in the village-like community, and social contacts were close among the residents. Their motivation for moving into Thornton was to step up the economic ladder, to buy a house and to lead "a proper" life (Interviews 2016-2017, Teppo, 2004). Most of the post-apartheid in-movers have had the same motivation. After desegregation, abolishing the apartheid residential segregation laws, Thornton was considered to be a good area – at least better than previous non-white areas. While the house prices were reasonable, the option for becoming a property owner in a white neighbourhood was realistic and desirable. One of the main reasons to move to Thornton after 1994 had been its central location and its accessibility to and from different parts of the city.

In general, the residents I interviewed and had discussions with described their neighbourhood as quiet, safe and village-like. The village-like community was explained through good neighbourly relations, Thornton being a place where people could rely on their close neighbours. For most, being quiet was a good thing and many added peaceful as a determinant for Thornton being quiet. Thornton and the residents were also described as "laid-back" and easy-going, especially when compared to neighbouring suburbs. Thornton was considered relatively safe even if the experience of crime had increased. The crime was explained to come from outside the neighbourhood, not produced by the Thornton residents.

However, at the same time, people expressed their dissatisfaction about the huge traffic jams, deteriorated green areas, poorly kept front yards and unsightly flats, non-existent public transport (buses), non-existent sports facilities, non-existent health clinic, non-existent high school, and very limited shopping options.

Some residents defined their neighbourhood as being unsocial and people living there reserved. Many active members in the community saw Thornton residents in general as being apathetic and uninterested in taking part in any activities, neither in community cohesion projects nor service delivery demands and complaints towards the city and the government.

Both long-term residents and later in-movers had noticed obvious changes in Thornton. The declining maintenance of streets, green areas and front yards was noted. The general street view and sight of public places had deteriorated, especially according to the older residents. The

change of colour of the residents was also noted. Even though the diversification of the population was noticed, it did not raise specific judgements about being a good or a bad thing. The increased and continually increasing crime and intensified traffic concerned every resident encountered.

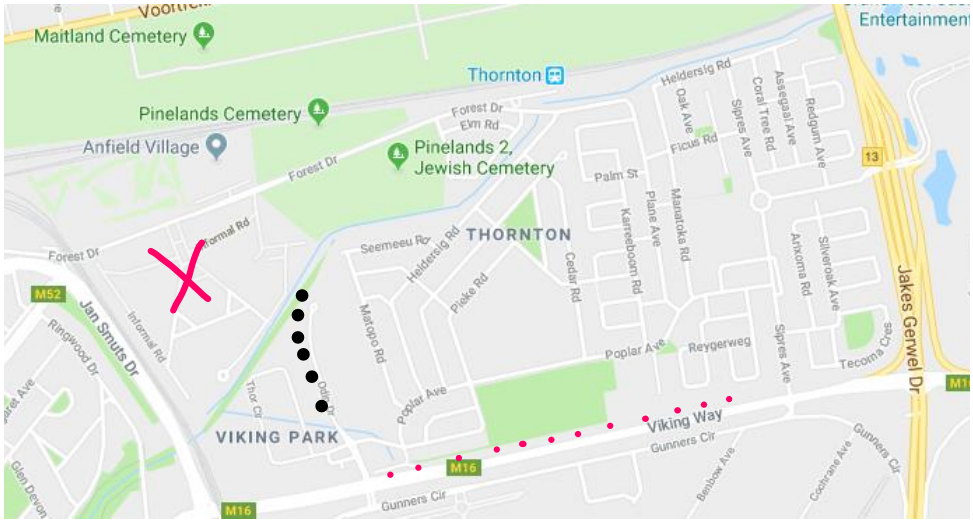
The old establishment, the older white people, had created and nurtured nature and the character of the original lifestyle in Thornton. They have had to adjust to the transformation without apparent control over the development and change. Their experience of the change in Thornton was built on a sense of insecurity and uncertainty as to whether life was getting worse compared to what it had been for them. The influx of new residents had forced them to face the societal changes in a very private sphere of their life. Their motivation to stay in Thornton has had various rationales. While Thornton was a lower middle-class area, selling a house had not necessarily opened up opportunities to buy to an area with less racial changes. For many long-time residents Thornton had been their "home", and despite the changes it has stayed that way. In general, the place attachment was solid. Many considered the changes in society to be inevitable and accepted ethnic and racial diversity as indisputable.

The non-white residents built their experiences on different grounds. For them, the in-movement to Thornton had in principle meant stepping upwards on the socio-economic ladder. The desire to achieve better housing with better facilities, better schools and higher prestige compared to their previous situation and options had made Thornton an attractive choice for many. Thornton had been relatively affordable while being an old white area, which has also attracted upward and forward moving people. The approach towards the new neighbourhood and new neighbours varied between non-white residents. In general, the class-based integration of the coloured people had happened smoothly. The adaption of the middle-class life style was taken as being undisputable and was even desired. The black African residents had not integrated with the same ease. The contradiction between the township culture and the western originated middle-class suburban culture was regarded as being challenging. There was also abiding experience of apartheid exclusion and oppression among the black African people. While Thornton still showed up as 'the best kept secret' for many, the transformation of the society, and the outside and inside pressures produced a challenge to this prestige.

6.3 Neighbourhood challenges

The Thornton community faced many challenges, most of which were generated from outside Thornton. I identified four key challenges, three of which came from outside Thornton and one was internally developed. The three pressures from outside were the new Conradie housing development in the northwest corner of Thornton, growing transit traffic through the small streets of Thornton, and the growing and more violent crime coming presumably from the notorious shack village[13] along the Viking Way just opposite Thornton. Fourth, internal pressure, was the building of a new mosque in Thornton.

Conradie X Odin drive ●●● Viking Way • • •



Map 4. Thornton challenges (Google Maps).

Conradie development

The new housing development on the old Conradie Hospital site had been in the government´s plans for years without considerable advancement. During the past years (since 2015), the plan has been activated and the Western Cape government has actively led the project development. The initiative has been called the Better Living Model which stands for "sustainable and

[13] Locally used term for an informal settlement.

affordable mixed-use, mixed-income and mixed-tenure neighbourhood". The Conradie development has been planned to be a game changer while it questions the spatial legacies of apartheid by delivering well-located integrated housing close to employment and economic opportunities. The development has been planned to consist of about 3600 housing units, meaning about 10,000 - 12,000 new residents. When considering the present number of residents in Thornton, this increase is considerable. The development has been a social integration project, planned to advance socio-economic mixing by including designated proportions of social housing and privately-owned units. The subsidized housing units are meant for lower income groups, not the poorest population groups, though.

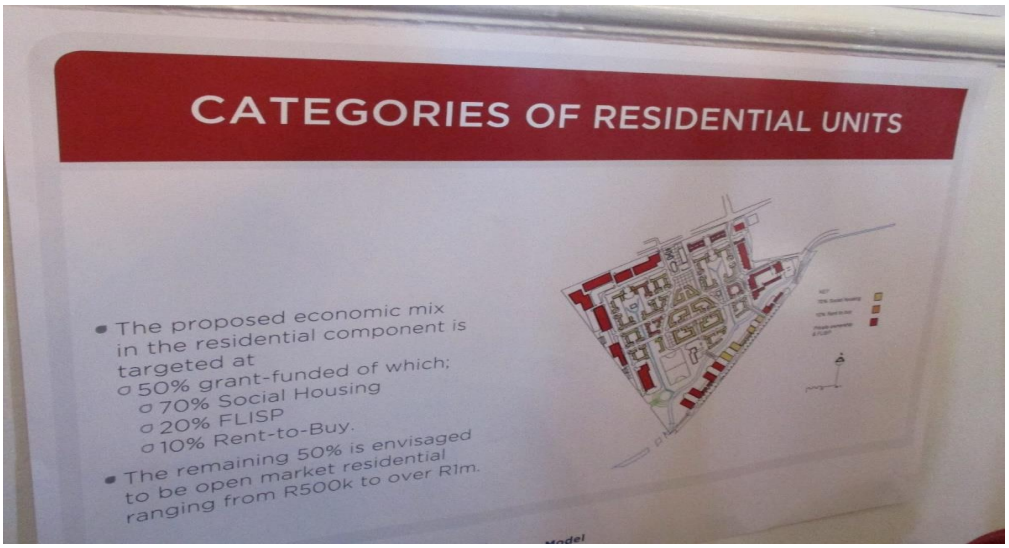


Image 1. The plan for Conradie development, 2016.

The planning process for Better Living Model includes the idea that the present residents around the new development should be actively informed and heard. Thus, substantial attention has been paid to the public participation process. There was an open day for the residents in Thornton and Pinelands, and the whole planning crew, from the Premier of Western Cape to all planners of zoning and infrastructure were available to the audience.

The residents of Thornton showed diverse level of interest in the new development. Some were much concerned about various points, others did not care at all, and some saw the development as a welcome upgrade of the services in the area. Mostly people in Thornton were worried about the increase of traffic. When the Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association

(TRRA) encouraged residents to leave complaints and suggestions, the individual residents left 680 claims of which most referred to traffic problems. There had been few active residents around the case of the Odin Drive extension which was first planned as a transit road to and from the new development.

It had been planned that the transport of the new residents would be taken care of by public transport, mainly the train. There are two Metrorail stations nearby, Thornton and Old Mutual. However, Thornton residents believed that most of the in-moving residents use private cars which then causes huge pressure in existing narrow streets.

Many residents expressed their concern about the potential decrease in their property values. If the image of the new development emphasized social housing and lower income groups, it would affect the rest of Thornton´s property values negatively. During the past 10-15 years the property values have gone up[14] and those who bought their houses and flats during this period, were especially concerned.

There was uncertainty about the socio-economic position and customs of the new people moving in. The lowest income groups could not afford to buy a flat on the new site, but they would benefit from subsidy programs and social housing schemes. Those who could afford to buy, would probably not move into this area themselves, but rather would buy for investment and rent the flats out. The rental housing may attract "*bad elements, for example Nigerians*". Some residents were concerned about the shebeens (township bars) moving in.

[14] South African Registrar of Deeds, statistics Property24.

Image 2. The information and hearing meeting in Pinelands town hall, organized by Western Cape Government and the City of Cape Town, October 31, 2016.

Crime

Another worrying fact was the growing crime in Thornton. According to the common understanding in Thornton, the reason for increasing crime was the wide unemployment and vast number of poor people in Cape Town, which had led to thefts and burglaries growing extensively. In crime statistics Thornton falls under the Pinelands Police Precinct, and the exact numbers concerning only Thornton have not been registered. The area of Thornton and Pinelands have been considered to be relatively safe areas in Cape Town, with most common form of crime being theft, especially from a motor vehicle, or burglaries of residential premises. Registered crimes against the person were 242 in 2016 and 277 in 2015. There was decreasing tendency of crime against the person between 2012 and 2016, but years 2017 and 2018 show apparent increase in crime. Especially drug-related registered crimes have increased substantially throughout the past ten years. (City of Cape Town Crime Reports, 2018; Crime Stats SA; Gie, 2009; Haskins, 2007).

Residents in Thornton had experienced a substantial change in their sense of safety. Most disturbing was the growing violence that had also become common in smaller thefts and property crimes. This phenomenon was explained through the common use of drugs, and overall carelessness related to drug abuse. The attitudes towards using public space and fear of

crime caused many residents to use private cars even for short distances in the own neighbourhood.

More common was the understanding that the most lawbreakers were from outside Thornton, primarily from the nearby shack village beside the Viking Way.

Image 3. The shack village alongside the Viking Way. (Source: Uli von Kapf).

The illegal occupation of this land strip had been a growing problem and was the cause of considerable anger and disappointment among Thornton residents. The government and the city had not been doing enough to solve the problem, evicting or relocating the dwellers from the shacks. People living in this street belt had had no basic facilities, water or electricity. This had led to stealing of water and electricity from the formal infrastructure. There had been several fires in the area, and the drug sellers were doing their business with school children and youngsters in Thornton.

The police and Thornton Neighbourhood Watch had cooperated to solve the worsening situation. Since February 2017, the police had a permanent surveillance van in the area, and

the drug sellers and prostitutes had been controlled at least to some extent. As a result of raids, some illegal shebeens had been shut down.

The area around the railway station was considered to be disorderly. There had been robberies and disruption of commuters, especially during the quiet times of both day and night. Women were considered to be especially fragile and were warned not walk alone around the station and the nearby canal green areas.

Next posting is from the Thornton Facebook group pages, December 2016.

> *"So over the last two days there have been more disturbing incidents in Thornton. The first being that two teens were mugged the other night on the way back from OK. Thanks to neighbourhood watch the guy was caught, cellphone returned to owner. Last night however my neighbour was turning up to Albatross from Poplar and saw guys walking with guns, I know the police were called and not sure what happened after that. We have a lot of activity happening in Thornton and another concern I have is, the old ADT building next to the station shop has a group of addicts using the place to sleep and hang out. According to the owner of the shop he has complained to authorities but nothing has been done about it. One of the guys I know for definite was caught for breaking and entering and is now back in prison. Those guys are up to no good. Some of them live in Thornton and have homes to go to. Instead they lurk around on the streets at night breaking and entering, robbing people for drug money. Is there nothing that can be done about this. Especially the ones that live in Thornton. Because these kids land up dropping in at home and bringing these other troublemakers to their homes without even thinking about the safety of their own homes. Unfortunately once a drug addict you become a sociopath and don't see this as a problem."*

During the fieldwork periods, there were multiple announcements of thefts and attempted thefts and burglaries in the Thornton Facebook group. There was arson in trains and railway stations along the train line through Thornton. The biggest of them occurred on the night of 1 December 2016. Flames were raging, and the incident caused lot of anxiety in Thornton. In January 2017, there was a cash van robbery at the shopping centre in the southwest corner of Thornton. There was shooting between the robbers and the guards, and one of the van guards was shot at.

Thornton Neighbourhood Watch releases crime reports in the official Thornton Facebook page. They are released irregularly every 1-3 months. This example was published on 24 December 2016.

> **Crime Report!**
> Final report for 2016:
> Concerns: Smash and Grab at Jakes Gerwel
>
> RESIDENTIAL BURGLARIES:
>
> Anfield Village, Thornton
> (05 Dec. between 07H15– 15H00) Opened window further. Took 2 watches and coins
>
> Palm Street, Thornton
> (06 Dec. at 07H24) Opened back window. Stole TV
>
> Redgum Avenue, Thornton
> (10 Dec. between 18H30 – 21H30) Forced burglar bar. Took Hard drive, watch and pair of shoes
>
> ROBBERY WITH A KNIFE
>
> Moody Avenue, Epping
> (07 Dec. @ 12H20) 2 Black males arrested, 1 in Moody Avenue where the robbery took place and the other, in Pinelands with the assistance of a member of Pinelands Neighbourhood Watch. Cellphone recovered.
>
> Poplar Avenue, Thornton
> (08 Dec. @ 23H40) Guy was walking and a coloured guy threatened him with a knife and took his cell phone. He was arrested with the assistance of a member of Thornton Neighbourhood Watch. Cellphone recovered.
>
> THEFT OUT OF AND FROM MOTOR VEHICLE:
>
> Mimosa, Thornton
> (07 Dec. between 17H00 – 22H00) Vehicle closed but not locked. Cellphone and Leather jacket stolen.
>
> Benbow Avenue, Epping
> (10 Dec. between 08H45 – 10H00) Possible Remote Jamming. CD play stolen

Traffic

Third external cause of worry was growing through traffic in Thornton. Traffic has been a common problem in Cape Town and drivers try to find alternative routes for their everyday commuting. Especially during peak hours getting in and out of Thornton can take lot of time.

The transit routes have mainly been used by the people who work at the Old Mutual office buildings behind the northwest corner of Thornton. There is no clear route to Old Mutual from highways and main roads, so taking a shortcut through Thornton´s small streets is useful for these commuters. For the residents in Thornton this has meant that it has been hard to get out of their home streets and out of Thornton. The capacity of streets in Thornton was built for a small neighbourhood, and the outside traffic has been causing unexpected bottlenecks. The new Conradie development would lead to an enormous increase in cars and traffic in the area. Thornton has now three exits, and the original plan for the new development was to utilize the old road network with only small extensions.

New Mosque

A Thornton-based internal cause of worry had grown around the project of building a new mosque in Thornton. The Islamic community wanted to build a new and more functioning mosque which would serve the growing number of Muslim families in Thornton. Many non-Muslim residents voiced the view that Thornton had always been a Christian area, and that there was hesitance towards it turning into a more Muslim. There were also many that took either a nonchalant approach or mainly opposed the noise and traffic around pray times.

The project for building a new mosque had been in the plans of Thornton Islamic Community (TIC) for years. The community wanted to buy a piece of land in Thornton that it had been renting from the city. (Motala, 2013) The discussions around the new mosque had been going on for years but was especially intense during the winter 2016 (June-July) when the information about a “ready-made deal” between the city and the TIC was leaked to the residents. The preliminary purchase contract had been handled without public tender, which caused irritation and worries among the Thornton residents and other interested actors. The sale of land was in fact the provoking issue to restart the operating of ratepayers´ association. At that stage, the non-Muslim residents argued they were only against the non-transparent procedures that had occurred in the land sale process. The purchase contract between the TIC and the city of Cape Town was later cancelled, but the building of a mosque kept raising heated discussion. It remained a cause of division in community relations. In February 2017, the city rented the four-hectare plot in question to a private sports club, and the mosque-project remained open. The discussion was built around suspicions from both sides, the Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslim residents expressed their willingness to integrate into Thornton community, but at the same

time they self-excluded themselves from the discussions. They also used strong terms like "Muslim-hostility".

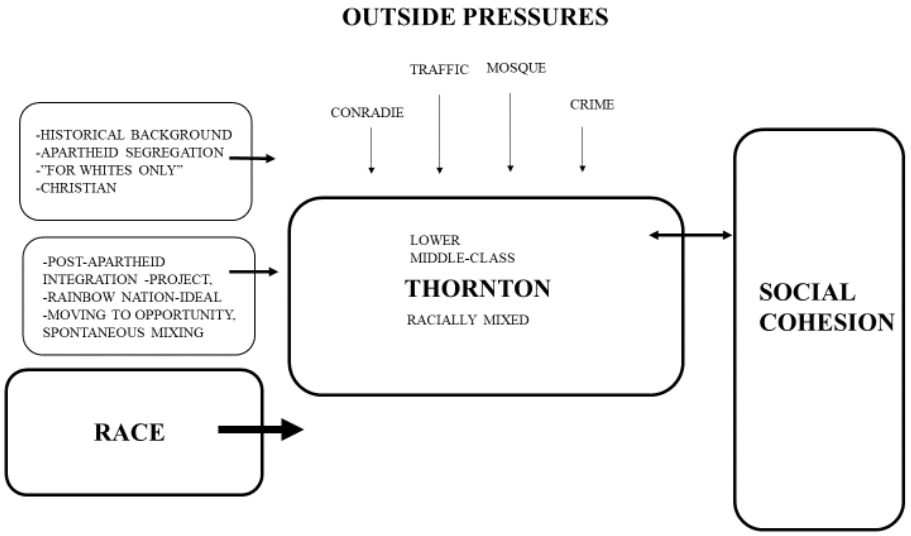


Figure 3. Update of the research design.

Chapter 7

Neighbourhood in practice:

social and spatial practices explaining cohesion

In this chapter, neighbourhood social cohesion is analysed through inclusive and exclusive social and spatial practices, which work both from the collective towards an individual, and from an individual towards the collective. The openness, accessibility and approachability of the communities and resident alliances display the extent and the ways of neighbourhood inclusiveness or exclusiveness. The place attachment and interest in the circumstances and improving the neighbourhood generates activity, i.e. participation, both group- and individual based. Spatial practices display the inclusive and exclusive patterns of using public space. It addresses the visibility of different population groups in using shared spaces, open areas and public premises.

The focus of the analysis lies in the community processes and everyday routines related to social belonging, community activity, and visibility in public places and spaces. Residents from different race groups have been analysed through group-based, collective, rather than individual, behavioural patterns. This means that the significance of race for the neighbourhood cohesion has been examined by exploring Thornton´s communities, and places and spaces, and the ways the residents from different race groups use them and are visible in them. The analysis is built on a theoretical frame (Table 9, p. 73; Table 12, p. 102) which employs cohesion contributing and preventing dimensions.

7.1 Structuring the analysis

Contributing and preventing dimensions

Cohesion contributing and preventing dimensions are examined by looking at the ways residents are involved in the neighbourhood communities and institutions, their orientation to participate and their engagement with public discussions. The racial composition of different

community structures demonstrates the racially-determined degree of involvement, interracial social interaction and co-operation, and accordingly racially determined non-involvement and exclusive practices. The use of public places and spaces demonstrate the ways social relations are constituted, constrained and mediated by open to all -spaces. The impact of race in occupying, arranging and managing neighbourhood space has been analysed within the scope of interracially unified practices and constructs contributing to the cohesion and racially-biased visibility and use of space preventing cohesion.

Table 12. Social and spatial approach, contributing and preventing dimensions.

Social and spatial practices	**Contributing to social cohesion, inclusive practices**	**Preventing social cohesion, exclusive practices**
Collective behavioural manifestations of belonging	Participation, community building	Non-involvement
Use of space	Integration in public places and spaces	Racially biased use of space

7.2 Categorizing Thornton spaces and places

The demonstration of the places and spaces are divided into four categories, which were created to explain the motivation and purpose of interaction among the residents in Thornton. The categories are created according to the nature and forms of making contact in a specific place or space. The nature of interaction and encounter is either intentional or unintentional and happens either in organized structures or spontaneously. The rationale for this categorization is to recognize residents´ incentives and varying motivation that lie behind diverse contacts and interaction.

In other words, I have used four categories to specify the diverse nature of places and spaces and contacts that happen in them. The presentation design of these categories substantiates the simultaneous combination of two rationales: one, intentionality and unintentionality; and two, the motivation for the residents to interact with people from other than their own racial group.

Race is actively acknowledged and discussed in each category. The rationale for explicating the racial character of the places and spaces is to illustrate the forms and levels of inter-racial social integration and non-integration in every-day life. The racialized mapping of the places and spaces contribute to understanding inter-racial relationships and the meaning of race to social cohesion in Thornton.

The first category stands for intentional contacts, an organized form of interaction, purposeful participation and building the community. It includes places and spaces where people go and join deliberately, following their willingness to take part and be involved. This category addresses participation and activity in organized communities, and it is divided into two sub-categories: civic associations[15] and religious communities. Civic associations are actively involved in pushing forward the residents´ interests and developing neighbourhood services, being the voice of the area towards the city officials and provincial government in handling the "outside pressures". Thus, civil society structures have a socialization function and a representation function (Foley & Edwards, 1998) in offering a platform for interest aggregation and debating.

Religious institutions produce conformity, group cohesion and strong social bonds. The sense of belonging and inclusion is generated through participation and mutual solidarity. Religious communities are generally considered important for people in South Africa (Southall, 2016, p. 191; Scheidegger, 2015, p. 98; Chidester, 1992), and these communities are both uniting and dividing the people in-racially and inter-racially (Scheidegger, 2015, p. 95-110; Wale, 2014). Even though there is no state religion, Christianity is the dominant religion. According to the census 2001 78.8% of the South African population belonged to Christian churches. Christianity had also been a unifying determinant during apartheid, even though the local Christian communities were not multiracial. Christian churches have pursued forgiveness, reconciliation and multicultural unity in the post-apartheid society. About 1.5% of South Africans are Muslims. The Muslim communities consist of mainly of people from the coloured and Indian/Asian populations.

[15] Political parties do not have local branches in Thornton. In the past three municipality and national/provincial elections the Democratic Alliance DA received 83-89 % of all votes in Thornton. When interviewed, residents were hesitant to discuss and disclose their personal political affinity or voting objects. The overall data and material gathered to analyse politics was thus considered to be insufficient. For these reason, political participation and political opinions have been excluded from the model and analysis of social cohesion.

The second category stands for organized contacts through which the interaction between participants has a motive other than building the neighbourhood community and thus is categorized as being unintentional. It includes public and semi-public institutions in which the interaction is based on other than a "building the community" -motivation. The interaction happens between individuals, and between the institution and the neighbourhood. According to the latter definition, the institution creates a locally based platform for multiple traditions of internal interaction, and interaction between the institution and the environment. Institutions have the potential to create cohesion in the neighbourhood by gathering various local individual and collective actors by producing spaces for both intended and unintended interaction. This category includes institutions like primary school, SOS -village[16] and retirement homes.

The third category stands for unorganized interaction and unintentional contacts. It includes open and public places in the neighbourhood. This category examines open to all public places, where the interaction and contacts happen occasionally and are mainly unintended. It talks about shopping malls, local coffee shop and the railway station. In addition, this category opens up the overall street view and the use of green and other open areas.

The fourth category focuses on non-physical spaces that bring people together. This category is centred around the analysis of social media. It stands for organized interaction through which the contacts are based on two motivations: willingness to participate and get involved in the community, or passive following of social media. In this sense, it infiltrates in all other categories. However, the importance and extent of social media in social networking is significant and thus, is provided here its own category.

Table 13. Categorization of neighbourhood social and spatial practices.

Motivation	Intentional contacts	Unintentional contacts
Community building, interest in the neighbourhood affairs, participation, sense of belonging	Categories 1 and 4 Participation, community activity	Category 4 Following social media
Other than community building motivation, random integration (working, studying), following the neighbourhood affairs	Categories 2 and 4 Attending public institutions, passive participation, following social media	Category 3 and 4 Random interaction in public places and spaces

[16] See: https://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/

List of the tangible places and spaces in the four categories:

1. Intentional self-imposed interaction, formal associations or communities:

   Thornton Ratepayers´ Association TRRA,
   Neighbourhood Watch NHW
   Religious communities: Methodist Church, Grace Church, Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Thornton Islamic Community
   Thornton Act.

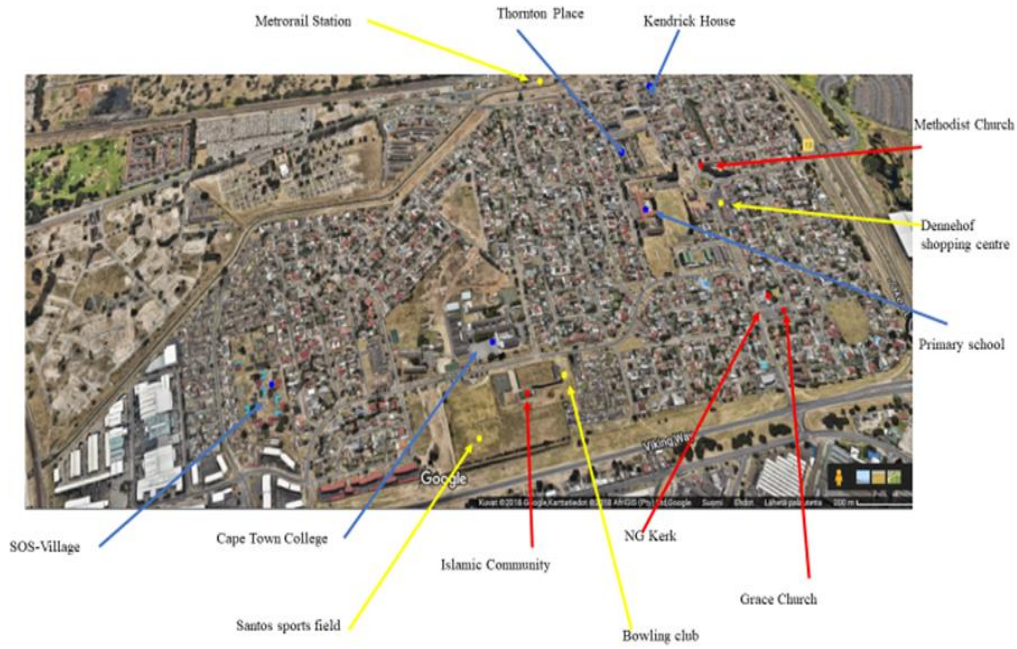
2. Motivation for contact other than voluntary participation in community building, public and semi-public institutions:
   Thornton Primary School
   SOS -Village
   Retirement villages: Kendall House, Thornton Place.

3. Interaction occasional and contacts unintended, public places and open areas:

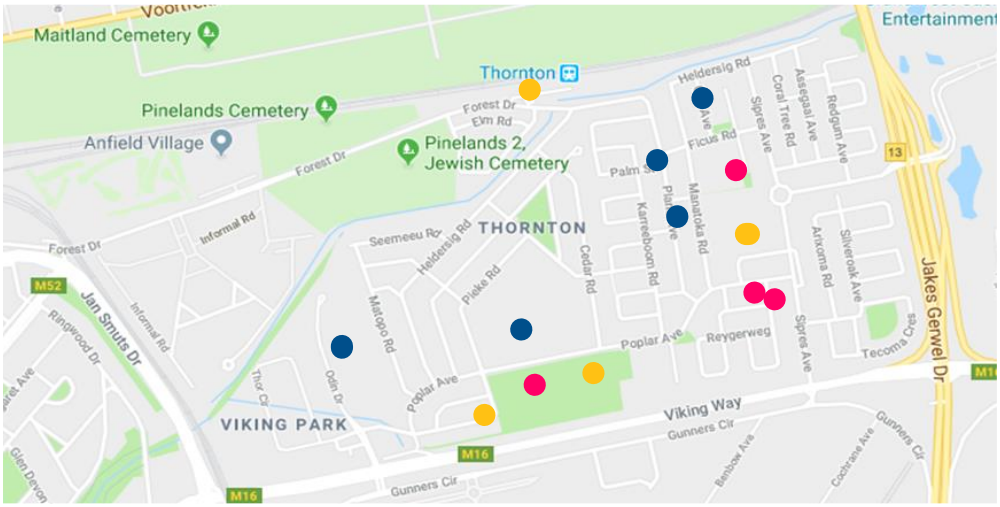
   Shopping centres
   Railway station
   Green areas and street life.

4. Interaction intentional and unintentional, non-physical spaces:

   Facebook groups.



Map 5. Aerial map of Thornton places and spaces. (Google Maps).
Blue: Public/semi-public institutions, Red: Religious communities, Yellow: Public places and spaces.



Map 6. Thornton map of community activity and public places. (Google Maps).
Blue: Public/semi-public institutions, Red: Religious communities, Yellow: Public places and spaces.

7.3 The community constitution

The first category display community constitution and participation. Organized associations and religious communities are introduced through their activities, active members and their everyday practices. The newly reborn ratepayers´ association was a central operator in civic engagement and has thus been given lots of space in this presentation. Neighbourhood Watch is essential because of increasing safety and security interests. The religious communities were small, but active and significant in networking, and thus deserve a thorough presentation. Thornton Act was a monthly meeting organized by the ward councillor. It was not an association or a structured community, but it followed the same logic of participation and involvement as the other agents in this category.

Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association (TRRA)

The Thornton Residents and Ratepayers Association (TRRA) declared its aims and objectives as following:

> *"To create an open channel of communication with local government, in order to represent all the residents of this area and give informed assistance to them regarding any municipal matter; to promote and safeguard the interests of the community of the area; to represent the interest of the community in its relationship with the local authority; to co-operate with other organizations on matters which are likely to further the objectives set out above."*

The renewed form of the Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association (TRRA) was launched in July 2016. A small group of concerned residents organized a public meeting to form a new active organization for the ratepayers in Thornton. The invitation was delivered through the Thornton Facebook-group, distributed leaflets, mouth-to-mouth, and by delivering the information from door to door. The invitation reached a good number of all residents.

The association had operated earlier under the name Thornton Ratepayers Association (RPA), but community activity had been declining over the years. The new start was built around the two topics that had been causing intense discussions and some turbulence in Thornton. The first was a land sale and a building project of a new mosque in Thornton, and the other was the government-driven new Conradie housing development. The use of land for building a mosque had caused lot of concern and worries in Thornton, and it was the first motivator to restart the

TRRA (interview). There were different views whether the resistance to the land sale and building a new mosque was based more on religious prejudice, or more on how the land sale was handled in the city decision-making, without public announcements and open tender. Some of the first residents launching the new TRRA were motivated by the concern of transparency in a public land sale, but some were mainly concerned about Muslim penetration into the previously Christian neighbourhood.

The beginning of the new TRRA was surrounded by suspicions and doubts, even a little animosity, over the role and aims of the new organization. The election of the new committee caused concern, especially due to the presence of Muslim residents in it. Proposals for committee members had been sought before the general meeting. The small preparing group of residents were looking for willing Thornton community members to join the committee. Then, at the general meeting, some of the Muslim residents felt offended, because there was no Muslim representation introduced. At that point, the new elected chairperson proposed few Muslim members to the committee and they were elected. The size of the committee became 20 which was considered quite large. The representations of the various interests at the committee were based on individual members. The only exception was the Muslim community, that had two seats on the committee. No political party or other interest groups were represented on the committee.

The TRRA had 114 financial members at the end of 2016. Because the membership fee was very low, the activity of the association had to be progressed without financial means. This limited the options to do much outside volunteerism. Most of the active members in the TRRA knew the people from the other active community associations in Thornton well, but there was a tendency for people to choose only one association in which to be actively involved. The TRRA secretary (2016) informed me that people taking part in the TRRA were different from the people in the Neighbourhood Watch.

Majority of the people involved in the TRRA belonged to the coloured group and were mostly men. General meetings gathered various number of participants, mostly men and from the coloured group. The committee members (2016) were mainly coloured people. Women took care of the office bearer -positions, the chairperson, the secretary and the treasurer. Two groups were exclusively absent from the activity in the TRRA: white women and black African people.

TRRA at everyday work

The beginning of the TRRA´s work was filled with personal contradictions, conflicting views of how the organization should be run and official protocol to be followed. Also, the Muslim-Mosque -issue was disturbing the committee work, though it was not openly discussed. In some point, it was specifically decided not to discuss that topic, which made the committee work occasionally difficult and suspicious. The chairperson was told she had been labelled anti-Muslim in social media and should be concerned for her own security. For various reasons the committee decided to expel the chairperson after few months´ work, and the next intrigue related to discussions about who had the authority to dismiss the chairperson. The chairperson was elected by the general meeting, not the committee itself. The Muslim land sale question was also on the committee agenda later, but it was obviously a difficult issue for the committee to discuss. The Muslim members´ presumption was that everyone else was taking a negative attitude towards the Muslim Community, so a term like Muslim hostility was used. The non-Muslim members´ reactions were overwhelmingly conflict-avoiding and conciliatory. In spring[17] 2016, the TRRA committee decided to invite the Thornton Islamic Community to a common meeting around the land sale and mosque issue, but the meeting was later postponed.

When addressing the Conradie development, the TRRA took a role between public officials and residents, to gather and provide the information. For example, the committee organized a general meeting around the Conradie -project for its members in November 2016. Because the whole TRRA and its committee members had different personal and individual motivations and had both positive or negative opinions about the project, the association could not declare one undisputed statement. However, the TRRA as a representative of Thornton residents had a critical stance towards the information provided and towards many details in the development planning.

Other issues in the TRRA activity were related to various topics and worries concerning Thornton and its surroundings. Many of the activities were connected to increased crime and security matters. One of the issues was the installation of security cameras in Thornton. There was a separate surveillance camera project run by a few individual residents who had set up an association for that. The discussion around installing security cameras in Thornton had been going on for years, but there had not been enough support from the residents' side to implement anything tangible. It was mostly a financial matter, because the installation costs and continuing

[17] In calendar, the spring in South Africa is the same as the autumn in Finland.

maintenance costs required the commitment of the majority of the residents. This commitment could have been guaranteed by asking and receiving a pledge from every household separately. To be compulsory for all the households to get financially involved in the residential area like Thornton the project needed to be approved by two-thirds of the households. Then other one-third could have been obligated to contribute to the costs. The TRRA committee discussed ways to get involved in the project, but it did not have a unanimous opinion on the need to install cameras.

Other issues handled included the continuous worries about the Viking Way shack village. Also, JayC´s pub at the western end of Thornton was considered to be a venue that attracted suspicious people and activity. The concern about the poor maintenance of public areas in Thornton, lawn mowing, and road repairs were discussed.

Marketing the "new" TRRA in Thornton was found to be important, and the plans to be better acknowledged among the residents and local small businesses was of great priority to focus on in the near future. This was also linked with the need to broaden the financial base. The TRRA participated in the community days organized with other associations and communities in Thornton and neighbouring Pinelands few times a year. The local communities represented themselves and collected money during these events. The community day programs were targeted at the whole family.

The TRRA launched its own Facebook pages. The Facebook group was closed, having 228 members (31.12.2016). However, most of the information, concerning for example the Conradie-development and general meeting invitations were also published on the official Thornton Facebook pages.

Some pessimistic residents´ evaluation was that the TRRA´s activity was not going to last for long. In their view, the association was built around prejudice and got its motivation from e few hot topics. As soon as these topics calmed down, the enthusiasm of the active members would wane. Then, there would be no enthusiasm for a permanent community builder in Thornton, because most of the residents were extremely passive.

Thornton Neighbourhood Watch (NHW)

Thornton Neighbourhood Watch has been a volunteer association for the residents who wanted to contribute to safety and security in Thornton. NHW has been an active community builder and was well known and its work appreciated among the residents contacted. Its task was to

"create a meaningful partnership between community, SAPS (South African Police Service) and other law enforcement agencies to combat crime". The association considered "crime prevention a shared responsibility". One of the main aims was to function as a continuously visible law enforcement, to show the active presence, and in this way, give a message that there was no space for criminal activities in Thornton.

> *"Thank you THORNTON Neighbourhood Watch. On my way home from a family member my car stopped on the corner of Grace Church. Luckily within minutes XXX from the neighbourhood watch stopped and asked if everything is okay. He offered to wait with me as my parents arrived. He then further suggested to jump-start our car and we were on our way within 15mins! Thank you and Well done! We in XXX are forever grateful! Please message me if you guys need coffee for your long shifts."* (Posting in Thornton Facebook pages December 2016).

The majority of the people involved in the NHW belonged to the coloured group. There were a few white men involved, but hardly any white women. The nature of the NHW work, patrolling in the evenings or chasing burglars, fell maybe more naturally to men. In the coloured group there were also women involved, but their participation in the patrolling was little to none. The absence of black African people was striking.

People who were involved formed a close and close-knit community. Many activists were also close friends. Even though the activity was open to all residents in Thornton, to some extent the NHW gave an impression of being a closed circle. The chairperson had been a long time active and well-known community member but had not taken part or exchanged information with other actors in the broader Thornton community.

The NHW met at the Old Bowling Club. The building was owned by the city, but the NHW used and controlled the use of the building. Most of the NHW activities happened outside the club house. The night patrols in the streets in and around Thornton was the crucial form of activity. The patrolling was always done in pairs, driving around and showing an active presence in the neighbourhood. The patrolling was mainly to observe the environment, and to be alert for suspicious cars, people or action. Touring took place every night, until 1 or 2 am. On the weekdays few people were on duty, during weekends up to ten members could join the effort. The total number in patrolling group was approximately 16-17. The patrolling was based

on voluntary activity, and there were no schedules or determined shifts. Most of the people had been involved for many years, which shows long-lasting commitment.

Neighbourhood Watch used an active and widespread mobile network called Zello to disseminate ad hoc crime alerts. The area is geographically relatively small, and it takes only few minutes for the patrol car to get to the place needed. This contributed to the feeling of safety in the Thornton community. All willing residents could join the Zello network, and the more extensive the application was, the better would be the coverage of resident observation in the neighbourhood. NHW released crime reports on the official Thornton Facebook pages. They were released irregularly every 1-3 months.

NHW has worked closely with the SAPS (South African Police Service). Law enforcement is officially in the hands of the police force, and the role of NHW was assisting the officials. Sometimes an NHW patrol became more involved in catching or arresting criminals. For example, this happened in a storage raid in in Epping Industrial Area (bordering Thornton). The police handled the raid and arrests were made inside the storage building, meanwhile NHW maintained order outside. The raid and the work of both the police and NHW were endorsed in the official Thornton and Pinelands Facebook pages.

Even if crime prevention was the main task of NHW, almost as important was working for community building. This was done by organizing family fun days, being active towards the city administration about various matters such as service delivery problems. In this sense the work of NHW partially overlapped with the TRRA.

Thornton Act

The ward councillor arranged an open to all community meeting once a month. This form of local democracy, informing and hearing the residents locally, was not on the official agenda in the city, and the local ward councillor had received lots of positive feedback from the residents on his efforts to be available for his voters. The councillor called this meeting the Thornton Act. The Acts took place on Tuesday evenings in one of the few community buildings in Thornton, mostly in the old bowling club house. Between five and fifty residents, usually averaging 15 people attended. Approximately 40% of the participants were white and 60% were coloured. During the six meetings observed for this research only one black African attended one meeting. About 25% of the participants were female. There were usually five to ten regularly active residents who attended the meetings every month, and the rest attended

irregularly and if they had an interest in a particular special issue – related to their own house, street or other attention-drawing development in the area. The meeting was a platform for two-way feedback and information sharing. The councillor provided updates on city and governmental issues that had an impact on Thornton, and specifically Thornton-related planning and decision making. For example, the Western Cape water restrictions or public electricity maintenance caused worries and a need for discussion among the residents. On the other hand, the residents had a podium from which to explain their concerns and make their claims about the service delivery and other things. Thornton Act worked as a dialogue between the city decision makers and the residents.

Topics at the meetings varied from big city service delivery issues to very small-scale worries. Regular large-scale issues at the Act meetings between 2015 and 2017 were the Conradie development, constant traffic jams, the land sale/rent issue including the building of a mosque, and the Viking Way informal market and shack village. These topics proceeded very slowly, and all of them had been on the agenda for many years. The unsafe areas around the railway station and nearby canal caused anxiety. Residents complained about the SOS -Village children that caused trouble there.

Smaller -but not necessarily less important issues for the residents included neglecting mowing the grass in Thornton public open places and parks, unauthorized storage of cars on the streets, illegal building in the properties, disturbance from barking dogs, out of order traffic lights and city garden workers peeing in public.

Religious communities

There are three Christian communities and one Muslim community in Thornton. The Christian communities are the Methodist Church, Grace Church and Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church). All the communities are rather small when it comes to the numbers of members, and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk is almost dying out. The Methodist Church and Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk own their own church buildings, and these buildings are traditional looking churches. Grace Church and the Islamic Community rent premises that were not originally planned for worship. The financing of the religious communities depends on the contributions of the members.

The Thornton Methodist Church

"Jesus-followers seeking wholeness and transformation"

Image 4. The front door of the Thornton Methodist Church.

The Thornton Methodist Church is the oldest church in Thornton. It was founded in the 1950s and the church building dates to 1953. The community symbolized the nature of the residents and the community of pre-1994 Thornton. Cape Town churches had earlier been divided along colour lines, and Thornton belonged to the same circuit with proximate white areas: Pinelands, Mowbray and Rosebank. Today the circuits follow geographical lines, and Thornton is a part of the Dumisani Circuit that also includes the suburbs of Athlone (predominantly coloured), Langa (black African) and Kenilworth (white). The language of the Thornton congregation has always been English.

During the fieldwork, the congregation had about 120 members, of which about half attended the Sunday morning services regularly. The service followed traditional Christian procedures. Many psalms were sung, the overall ambiance was calm, not specifically silent, but quiet somehow. During the regular week, there were both morning and evening Sunday services. There were also many bible study and fellowship groups that gathered in members´ homes and at the church. On Fridays, there was a youth night at the church, but this activity was suffering from a lack of participants. The church ran a crèche during weekdays. The children were mostly

black Africans and came from Thornton and outside. The church employed a full-time minister and a secretary, and few part-time crèche employees. The communication and information were handled through leaflets handed out at the Sunday services, on the Church notice board, and on the Facebook pages. The Facebook postings were mostly holy texts and religious aphorisms. The church did not have an active web-page.

Due to the small size of the community, all the people knew each other, and the atmosphere at the services was warm and caring. People hugged and kissed each other and were interested of the well-being of their fellow participants, including the visitors. Some members described the church life as *"spinning around loving the Lord"* and being gracious, but deeper understanding of injustices around them was vague. The active small-scale charity was sincere but, in a way, it swept bigger social questions under the rug. Most of the members were quite old, and their willingness or capacity to negotiate their changing society was limited.

During the fieldwork year, the long-time minister of the church retired. The new minister was chosen for a temporary position of two years´ duration. The running of a big church building and the community activities with the financial resources relying on payments from only 120 members was challenging. It was presumed that in future the independent Thornton Methodist Church would have to merge with other congregations or include itself in a bigger one.

The Methodist community was the most racially mixed of the religious communities in Thornton. However, the portrait of the average member was clearly an older white person, and about 75% of those who attended the Sunday services belonged to white population group. Furthermore, the age correlated with the race group. While the white people were principally aged over 60 years, the coloured people were working age and the very few black African people represented a range of ages. Children were almost non-existent.

Despite the mixed racial distribution in the community, and the warm relationships regardless of the skin colour of the community members, race still played a role in the activities around the church. For example, when there was an event or decision that needed wider discussion and an opinion poll, there were clearly "spokesmen" from the various racial groups. The opinion of a certain group was channelled through the central figure of a specific race group. There was a natural shared sense of togetherness among the older white people, because they had been living in Thornton for decades and had known each other "always". It was not necessarily a race issue as such.

The Grace Church

"To intentionally impact people into relationship with Jesus Christ"

The Grace Church was founded in 2000. It was launched because some residents in Thornton wanted a new and more lively religious community that what had existed in Thornton earlier. The traditional Christian communities were considered too rigid and not appealing to younger generations. According to its own description:

> *"Grace Community Church is a biblical, dynamic, Pentecostal[18], relevant and practical Church for people of all ages, races and walks of life. It is a Church where one may experience a fresh approach to the love of God. It is a fun filled Church geared to inspire, encourage, build and challenge."*

The Grace Church differed from the Methodist church in the way they run through the Sunday services. The Grace Church urged more charismatic worshipping than the Methodist Church. The service began with musical part lasting between 20-30 minutes. The community had its own band which played on stage and led the singing. The music was not traditional psalms, more like modern light rock and pop -music, religious rock. People were standing and singing along and engaging passionately. The words of the songs were repetitive and concentrated on praising and showing gratitude. The experience was slightly transcendental, pursuing strong unity with God and the Grace community. The atmosphere throughout the service was committed, and people were standing with their hands high answering and repeating the pastor´s words. The ambiance was joyful and bright.

The Grace church had about 80-100 members, but the exact number was not available. The average member was notably younger than in the Methodist community. About 70 people were regularly attending Sunday morning services. The majority of the members were working-age people, and there were clearly many young people involved. The community was very child friendly, and children and young people were an important part of the whole church´s activities. There was a separate kids´ club during the Sunday service. The majority of the members belonged to the coloured group representing the working-age families with children. The

[18] Pentecostal and other charismatic Christian churches are the fastest-growing group of churches in South Africa today. They emphasize the 'Kingdom of God' in the present rather than in the future and are associated with socially conservative values of hard work, individual responsibility and morality (for example in the scope of sexual behaviour and orientation). Prosperity is often seen as reward of religious commitment. (Southall, 2016, p.192).

teenagers and young members had close friendship links inside the church. This age group was mainly coloured and to some extent black African. After the coloured majority the next largest group was black Africans. There were clearly fewer white people, most of whom were middle-age women. Even if the church was racially mixed, the coloured group was clearly dominant.

The Grace Church had both web-pages and Facebook pages. The first was seldom updated, and the latter consisted mainly of religious phrases and prayers. Facebook was used to market upcoming events and to deliver up-to-date information. Grace Church prepared sandwiches for the Thornton Primary School every school day, to serve as a lunch for the children that did not have their own lunchboxes.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NG Kerk) is a protestant church. It was founded in 1954, and the church building was completed in the same year. The church building was big, cross shaped, and plain, seemingly well-kept and in good condition. The NG Kerk has always been an Afrikaans speaking community, and the members in the Thornton congregation were still very much so. All members were white. The first ever non-white (coloured) person attended the church Bible study group in January 2017.

In the peak years between the 1960s and the 1980s, there were about 1500 adult members, and about 300 children in the church community. In 2016, the community had about 110 members, of which 80-90 were from Thornton and the rest from nearby suburbs, mainly Goodwood. Most of the members were not actively involved in church activities. About 30 people attended Sunday services regularly, and many fewer attended pray meetings and Bible study groups during week days. The active members formed a solid friendship group and took care of each other. However, all members were already old, 75 years and older, and there was a fear that the community would fade away in the next 10-15 years. The church activities, Sunday services and Bible Groups relied strongly on the priest. The service was led by the priest, and the members were passive listeners.

The financial resources of the church came from member donations, and some rental income. The church rented out a hall and another smaller building on its property. Occasionally the community organized fairs and other events to raise money. In a few cases the congregation had also applied for support from the roof organisation of the Gereformeerde Kerk in Cape Town. The minister worked only part-time.

The Thornton Islamic Community

The Thornton Islamic Society (in more common use Thornton Islamic Community, TIC) was founded in 1998 to look after the social, welfare, spiritual and educational needs of the Muslim community in the neighbourhood. In 2016, there were about 100-140 Muslim families in Thornton of which most belonged to the Thornton Islamic Community. There had been a clear increase in the community and new Muslim families were moving into Thornton constantly. The community members considered Thornton Muslims to be a close and cohesive group, having friendship links and active social interaction inside the group. The Muslim people had traditionally belonged mainly to the Asian race category. However, many coloured people and some black African people had joined the Muslim community in Thornton, and thus the racial categorizations inside the community were not self-evident or clear.

The community rented an old tennis club house from the city and had amended the building layout to suit its needs. The old hall had been modified into a large praying room. It had a carpet with hundreds of praying spots showing the direction towards Mecca. The main hall carpet was in excellent condition, otherwise the premises were in modest condition. There was a small shabby prayer room for women.

The Thornton Islamic community prayers on Fridays were also popular among non-Thornton residents. The "outsiders" were people who worked in nearby areas and attended the Friday prayer session during their lunch break. There were only sporadic women attending the pray, and their presence was more to organize a take away lunch after the service. There were weekly Quran (tafsir) classes for adults, in which the main surahs were read and explained. The classes were held after evening Maghrib prayer and they were open to all. The women were expected to wear Muslim clothing, and they sat in the back corner of the main praying hall. There were about 15-20 participants in the classes. The Madrasas were afternoon classes organized for the youth, but there was a lack of regular participants. This was because most of the children went to schools outside Thornton and therefore were not able to join these classes.

The community was a bit hesitant to open its doors to non-Muslims. This was probably due to the strained climate around the difficult procedure of the community to buy a piece of land and build a mosque in Thornton. The Muslim community considered the substantial resistance against their mosque building project as religion-based prejudice and hostility. From the Muslim community´s point of view, there had been a constant confrontation between the Christian residents and the Muslim community. There had even been some claims of existing

hate speech among the non-Muslim residents. One of the members in the Muslim community characterized this interaction: "*It´s a struggle, it´s a fight*".

Outside this dispute, the community and its individual members were open to building a common Thornton community without religious prejudices. There was an urge to bring Thornton youth together despite their religious or racial backgrounds. The youth was the main focus of the TIC committee activity, and it had set a special sub-committee to work on this matter.

Islamic Society had both web-pages and Facebook pages, of which only the latter was updated. The Facebook pages had about 140 followers (31.12.2016).

Summing up category 1: the community involvement

In Thornton, the sense of belonging and place attachment became visible in participation and contributing to the work in civic associations and religious communities. There were both inclusive and exclusive practices that affected the neighbourhood´s cohesion and interaction across the race.

The promotion of interests was the basis for restarting the residents´ association, and civic endeavour was focused on two developments, the new Conradie housing project and the building of a new Mosque. Other central issues in civic engagement were safety and security and crime prevention. Community activity was mainly run by the coloured people. The participants at the general meetings and the committees were predominantly coloured. Some white people were involved, but the absence of the black African people was striking.

The different traditions of community constitution and decision making became visible in Thornton. The contradiction between township arrangement of street committees and the strong position of community elders (Oldfield, 2004), and the white neighbourhood resident organizations and leaders assigned through elections was substantial. Black African people may have found it difficult to adjust to the different ways of neighbourhood activism and neighbourhood -related interest that differ strongly from their previous experiences. The estrangement from accustomed traditions and the unfamiliarity of new traditions have led to disconnection and disengagement. Different premises of collectivity and community cohesion prevented the inter-racial integration and uniting neighbourhood developments.

The religious communities were both contributing to interracial integration and preventing social cohesion between religions. Two out of three Christian communities were racially

mixed. However, both of these communities had a strong racially biased image: the Thornton Methodist Church being mainly white, and the Grace Church being mainly coloured. The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk was exclusively white. The Islamic Community was a combination of coloured and Asian groups, but the exact proportions could not be identified.

The religious communities were very active inside their own communities. Members formed close networks and friendship links, and the group-solidarity was strong. Even though all churches were at least somehow involved in charity work, and contributing projects in poorer areas and townships, the activity was concentrated in worshipping inside their own community. Religious communities were welcoming new members and the ambiance was open towards new people. All communities were small, and there was also a need for new members.

With Thornton being traditionally a Christian area, the influx of Muslim families and especially the building of a new mosque caused ambivalence and contradictions in the neighbourhood. The relationships between the Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association and the Thornton Islamic Community were tense.

7.4 Public and semi-public institutions as platforms for interaction

The interaction in public and semi-public institutions that people attend intentionally, but have other than a community building motive, is separated from the previous intentional involvement in community activity. Interaction in these establishments happens in professionally organized and led public constructions and the actors in the institutions are either customers or professional operators. The environment of unintended interracial contacts and interactions could accommodate growing into integration across the race, and the results for cohesion being noticed at a later point in time. Integration and cohesion are thus side-effects of interaction that materializes on other than community building rationale. Next, I will portray the Thornton public institutions and their potential for contributing to neighbourhood social cohesion. These institutional units cover mainly age groups outside working life, children and elderly people.

Thornton Primary School

Education institutions have a central role in increasing social capital and advancing social engagement in the neighbourhood. The admission policies of the local school and the school selection strategies of the families influence the position of the school in either contributing to

or preventing community building and cohesion. When most of the intake of the school comes from local families, the impact of the school in the integration process is constructive. Children grow up together and form friendship links. Parents and guardians are more willing to cooperate with the school, and integration grows as a side effect of extra curriculum activities and fund raising. Often the local school is the main promoter of neighbourhood contacts (Muller 1981/2006, p. 145). In the reverse circumstance, the school works as an outsider in the community not producing mutual support structures, integration and cohesion. Families not living in the neighbourhood have little or no contact with each other or with local businesses which makes local fund raising more difficult. The business community has less interest in contributing to the school when the expected benefits for marketing their own is services are insignificant.

Image 5. The banner of Thornton Primary.

Thornton Primary School was founded in 1954. In that time, there were 195 learners and 6 teachers. The school had a school song and its own badge, which was adopted along with the motto "Eenheid - Unity". Extensions to the school building were built in 1966, including a school hall, and an aftercare facility was built in 1997. The school has had only four principals.

First, Mr. J. L. Smit, and then, Mr. M. Meyer was appointed as principal in 1974. Mr. J Voigt was appointed in 1985 and was followed up by the latest principal, Mr. S. G. Paine in 1997. Over the years the school has produced numerous sporting stars in a variety of sports which include, ice hockey, netball, volley ball and karate. (School Facebook pages 2017).

During the apartheid decades, pupils came mainly from Thornton and all were whites. The racial background of pupils has changed during the past twenty years. Around 2000, about half of the pupils were white, 40% coloured and 10% black. In 2015, the distribution was dramatically different; 2% white, 3% Indian, 45% coloured and 50% black. The few white children came from the SOS -Village in Thornton.

In 2016, Thornton Primary School had about 600 pupils in grades 1-7, and the school was under pressure to raise its intake. The school had originally been Afrikaans-speaking, but it was changed to English-speaking in 2000. There was still the option to study in Afrikaans, but the number of the willing pupils had diminished considerably. At least half of the pupils came from outside Thornton. Parents in poorer areas had sought a better education environment for their children, and that was reason for the children from nearby Langa, for example, coming to Thornton Primary. Also, families with other than English as their first language (Xhosa) wished to take their children to an English-speaking school. Teachers were mostly either white or coloured. This was due to the qualification requirement of knowing Afrikaans, which has been rare amongst black African people.

Thornton Primary School is a government school. The South African education system consists of three types of schools: independent (private) schools, government schools and governing body-funded public schools (Model C) (Startz, 2010). Private education is more expensive than public education but offers much better standards. Model C schools are government schools that are administrated and largely funded by a governing body of parents and alumni. Some of the country's best schools fall into this category, and fees are somewhere between private and regular government school fees. (Battersby, 2004). Government schools are controlled by provincial education departments, and their standards vary widely. (Fiske & Ladd, 2004).

Image 6. Lunchbreak at Thornton Primary School, June 2015.

Image 7. Pupils at break, Thornton Primary School, June 2015.

The families living in Thornton have preferred schools outside their own neighbourhood. Most children have gone to schools in neighbouring Pinelands and Goodwood. These schools, especially those in Pinelands, have been considered offering better education and better facilities. The schools in neighbouring areas charge higher school fees, and the economically-able families regularly choose other than Thornton Primary for their children.

The school have had two main difficulties which are intertwined with each other. These are the financing, and almost non-existent parental involvement. The government education department emphasizes support to schools in previously discriminated areas, in which Thornton is not included. Still, most of the pupils have come from these areas, and their families have not been able or willing to pay for the education. School could not have collected the appropriate school fees which it would have needed to secure proper education and facilities for a growing number of pupils. The families have not been involved in school life and especially fund raising. Either active or wealthy parents are important for schools to manage their finances, and Thornton Primary has had neither of these in many years.

The learning ability and learning attitude have also changed over the past twenty years. This was explained by the growing non-involvement of the parents. The reason for parents´ inattention to their children's school performance is both cultural and common busy life style. Children are brought to school, someone picks them up, but there are no other contacts between the school and the families. There used to be more home mothers but today all are busy in their working lives.

> *"Parents with colour think that the white schools are better, but they don´t understand that it includes … the reason for it is this interest of parents in their children´s school performance."*[19]

The SOS -Village children and the contacts with the SOS -mothers stood out in different discussions. The school has been obliged to take a certain quota of the Village children, and these pupils have been exempted from paying the school fees. This has increased the economic burden for the school. There have been lots of behavioural and discipline problems, and the cooperation between SOS-mothers and school was considered difficult on both sides. School personnel found the village personnel not sufficiently interested in their children´s school-

[19] All following indented quotations are either authentic or only modified to excise pauses in speech, intermediating sounds or words without proper meaning.

related matters, and the SOS -mothers blamed that there was strong and unnecessary labelling of their children who came from difficult circumstances.

The simultaneous trajectories of falling numbers of local children and diminishing financial resources have created an ongoing downward spiral. School choices in Thornton have symbolized the urge for social upward movement. The residents in Thornton have been willing to send their children to better schools outside Thornton, and Thornton Primary has gathered children from the families in poorer areas and townships. These families wanted to send their children to school in Thornton because it was considered better than the ones in their own areas. The individual families´ need and search for better education for their children has led Thornton Primary to fall in between. The school has been isolated from the local community and the community´s interest to maintain and support the school has been non-existent.

SOS-Village

The SOS -Village accommodated 140 children from various areal and social backgrounds in Cape Town. The majority of the children were black Africans. There were 15 houses, eight children and one "mother" in each of them. The house units were also called "family". Children in each house were of different ages, so that older could support the younger ones. Also, there was a mix of boys and girls in each house. Children went to various schools in Cape Town, many of them to Thornton Primary. Children had transport to their schools.

The village was located at the western part of Thornton and it had a large and airy plot. There were plenty of open fields inside the village. The green areas were not well kept, though, and no flowers or other plants had been planted. The areas around each house was maintained by the house family. The gardening and cleaning of the own yard had not been the central issue in many of the houses, and there was some level of untidiness in the village.

The village was founded in 1996, and it had a white male director at that time. The financing of the village was appropriate and its acceptance among Thornton residents was high. In recent years, there have been many complaints from the neighbouring residents of the noise and disturbances caused by the village. These accusations were not understood among the village mothers and personnel. The financing of the village comes from the government and private sponsors.

There were no close contacts or cooperation between the village and other residents in Thornton. The people knew that SOS -Village exists, but there was no more knowledge or

interest in the village in the Thornton community. The civic associations did not show much interest in the village. The religious communities, especially Grace Church had some cooperation with the village families. In general, the village looked like an excluded and self-sufficient island in the neighbourhood.

Retirement villages

Retirement villages are housing complexes where retired people can purchase a home on a lifetime basis. This means that the resident and his/her spouse have a lifetime right to occupy the flat or cottage, and the purchase price will be turned back to the heir or other beneficiary after the resident´s passing away. Villages offer various medical and recreation services according to the standard of the village. Most of the residents live very independent and active lives, but some of the villages also offer so called fragile care in the case the residents´ condition requires continuous attention. There are exclusive villages and more modest options, following people´s economic choices and possibilities. Every village carries a monthly fee in line with the range and quality of services they offer. Villages are a popular and tempting option because they offer security and an active community with the other residents.

There were two retirement villages in Thornton, Kendrick House and Thornton Place. Kendrick House was run under the auspices of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and was home to 67 residents. Attached to Kendrick House was the later built Kendrick Close, making a total of 102 residents. The residents in Kendrick House mostly came from outside Thornton, and the majority of the residents were white. The Methodist Church had a close relation to the village, and for example, Sunday services in Church could also be followed in the Kendrick house through a video link.

The other village (Thornton Place) was built by the Communicare social housing company in the 1990s. Communicare still run it through its division Cape Retirement Lifestyles. It had about 70 residents, most of whom were from Thornton. The residents had active social contacts and gatherings in the village, and to some point in the surrounding neighbourhood. Many previous Thornton residents living at Thornton Place were still active in discussions concerning services and security in the neighbourhood, and also taking part in the Thornton Facebook group. Many of them were active in religious communities. The neighbourly relations were boosted by common events, such as when the pupils from the local primary school came to sing Christmas Carrols in the village. The residents in the village found this to be delightful. Most of the residents were white.

College of Cape Town Thornton campus

The College of Cape Town is a vocational school. It has about 25000 students of whom about 2000 were on Thornton campus. The Thornton branch has concentrated on the education of building and civil engineering. Inside the school property there was also a residence for 180 students. The school building was originally Thornton High School, which was closed in the late 1990s. Students and school personnel have not been involved in the Thornton community, and the campus has been an isolated complex inside the neighbourhood. Some of the students living in the dormitory have joined Grace Church, but other links and contacts have been non-existent.

Summing up category 2

Public and semi-public institutions have a clear potential for contributing to social cohesion in the neighbourhood. However, this is not the case in Thornton. The presented institutions were all independent islands in the area. In particular, the schools and the SOS -Village were excluded from the rest of the neighbourhood social networks. Retirement villages had connections to the religious communities but were otherwise self-sufficient and life in the villages was inward oriented. In addition, at least at Kendrick House the residents came mainly from outside Thornton and the area was not familiar to them from previous experience.

The Primary School has taken in most of its pupils from outside the neighbourhood. This has caused substantial disconnection between the school and the Thornton community. Natural contacts and friendship links between the children were not produced in the school environment. Families were not meeting around school life and parents and guardians excluded themselves from home and school cooperation. While most of the pupils only visited Thornton, the school was not a local institution any more. There was a significant racial bias among the learners. The school had mainly black African and coloured pupils. The absence of white children was obvious. Most of the children living in Thornton went to school outside the neighbourhood.

The SOS -Village was even more detached from the rest of the community. The children and the workforce came from outside the area, and the cooperation between the village and other communities was little. The location was not central, and the existence was visible and audible only to neighbouring properties. Some of the village children went to Thornton Primary School,

but due to lack of school and neighbourhood relations, the SOS -Village did not become familiar to Thornton families through the school life either.

7.5 Public places and unintentional occasional contacts

Third category talks about public spaces and open areas, and the unintentional interaction they produce. The mundane practices and use of space show the circumstances of potential interaction. The more lively and vivid the street life and public spaces were, the more it could contribute to contacts between the residents. The public places for businesses, shopping, eateries and services create spaces and points of spontaneous contacts. As Scheidegger (2015, p.44) points out, even if the contacts are occasional and superficial in nature, the local meeting places for spontaneous interaction and "street ballet" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 32) contribute to community cohesion. Even if these contacts do not produce friendship links and close social contacts, they make the neighbours casually familiar. Next, I will present Thornton public places and the "open to all" spaces. Through this presentation I will show the spatial potential to build and encourage neighbourhood cohesion. In addition, I will present the racially biased use of space that takes place in Thornton. The promotions displayed cover "open to all" activities and public structures in the neighbourhood.

Shopping centres

Dennehof was the main shopping centre in Thornton. The centre had two storeys, and the upper one was reserved for residential use. Dennehof was owned and run by Communicare, from which all shop keepers rented their premises. Dennehof was well located along the main traffic circle in Thornton. It was relatively small in size and had only small-scale shops and businesses. All shop entrances were from the outside parking area, and there were no common covered or inside areas in the centre. The typical visitor was a popping by customer, making just a short visit to some of the shops. The customers were both from Thornton and passers-by to the Epping industrial area, to Thornton railway station and to the Old Mutual office centre further away. The largest of the premises was used by 7 Eleven. There was also a laundry, a cell shop, a take away fishery and a pet shop. There was a café which was closed during the observation period. There were also many empty shops, which made the image of the centre somewhat shabby and bare. The closed-down businesses had included for example a hair dresser, a

pizzeria and a clothing shop. The centre was so small that it could not compete with the big shopping malls around the city and within easy access from Thornton.

Image 8. Dennehof shopping centre.

There was another small shopping centre at the other end of Thornton, located on the corner of the Epping industrial area and Epping market. It gathered a good number of customers from short passers-by, but also from residents on the western side of Thornton. This centre was slightly newer than Dennehof. The shops were similar to those in the Dennehof centre, and the entrance to each was also from the outside parking area. There was a small grocery shop, a cell shop, a locksmith, a driving school, a fishery, a hairdresser and a pub. The last business had caused some discussion especially among older-generation residents about bringing "bad elements" and drawing suspicious customers from the nearby shack village. This shopping centre was not especially identified as being in Thornton due to its location and because it gathered customers from outside the area.

Flamboyant coffee shop

The Flamboyant coffee shop became a central gathering place during its short existence. With its approximately 20 seats it was the only eatery in Thornton. Flamboyant was located in the Dennehof shopping centre, and the location was as good as it could be for a business in Thornton. Opening hours were from 7 am until 4-5 pm, thereby excluding potential dinner time customers. It had a computer and a printer for the customers´ use, and these services were actively utilized. It was also possible to organize private events on the premises after normal hours, and to order take away catering services.

Image 9. The owner of the Flamboyant coffeeshop.

The coffee shop was run by the owner and one kitchen employee. This meant long working days for the both. The place became well known to many people in Thornton and beyond, and the owner was a central figure in the shop. She gained the trust of the locals and led the business with her personality. She knew or learnt to know most of the customers personally. Long-time residents welcomed the coffee shop warmly and gathered there to meet each other regularly.

The customers were from all population groups and the racial distribution presented the Thornton population. However, even though the coffee shop itself was all-inclusive what comes to racial presentation, the tables tended to be in-racially homogeneous. This was mainly because people came in with the company of people from the same racial background, not especially choosing a table within one´s own group. Flamboyant was the only walk-in public eatery in Thornton, and its closing was a huge loss for community integration. When the owner informed people about its closure on the Thornton Facebook pages, the announcement engendered dozens of expressions of sorrow and sadness.

The story of Flamboyant lasted 27 months, until the end of November 2016, and its existence, success and unsuccess, characterized the environment in Thornton. There was an enthusiastic new entrepreneur, and good location for the business to succeed. But the sleepy suburb whose residents reside but do not fully live in the neighbourhood, did not build a strong and long-lasting platform for community business or common structures. Even if the coffee shop became well known and a regular meeting place for many, the customer segment was very narrow, while most residents chose facilities and services outside the neighbourhood.

Railway station

Thornton railway station is part of the city of Cape Town public transport Metrorail system. Metrorail has five lines and Thornton station is on the Northern Line, from the Cape Town CBD to Wellington. It takes twenty minutes by train to get from Thornton to the CBD main station. During the observation periods at the station, there were approximately five trains per hour stopping in Thornton from both directions. Thornton station was clearly a place for everyday working commuters. A considerable part of the regular users from Thornton were students going east to Bellville university campuses, and also pupils going to school in the direction of the CBD.

Image 10. The entrance of the Thornton railway station.

The Thornton station was located on the northern side of Thornton. It was not a pleasant environment to spend more time than was necessary. At the entrance is a ticket office that is open during the day, and a small kiosk just outside the front gate. During busy hours it was relatively safe, even though there were some dubious loiterers just outside the station fences. There had been some violent instances, a kidnapping and looting around the station area during the preceding year. It was recommended that women should not to travel alone in quiet times. There were some allegedly set fires around the Metrorail lines, including one in Thornton. In general, commuting by train was considered unsafe. The trains were often over-loaded, with people hanging half outside, wobbling outside the train or standing between the carriages.

At least 70% of the passengers coming to Thornton were black African people. (More so if we count the outgoing passengers at the same time.) The other 30% of the passengers were coloured people, while only sporadic white people used the train. Difference in gender-based distribution could not be identified.

There´s no bowling at the bowling club any more: public premises and outside areas

Image 11. The bowling club main entrance.

The few publicly owned premises that existed in Thornton were heavily deteriorated. The old bowling club was owned by the city, and its maintenance had been completely neglected. The bowling facilities had been removed. At present the house was governed by the Neighbourhood Watch and used also by other community actors. The nearby old tennis club was owned by the city and rented to the Thornton Islamic Community, which had modified the premises for its own worshipping and activity. Both buildings were located beside the sports fields that were not open to public. The third city-owned property was the old scout´s hall, which was rented to an outsider religious community. This small building was also in poor condition.

There were some green areas, a few small parks and play grounds in Thornton. None of these areas was well kept or sufficiently appealing for getting together and socializing. These areas were not much used by the residents. The main sports field was run by an outsider sports-club and closed for public use. Street life was none-existent. The car driving culture and insecurity had reduced incidence of walking even short distances. The lack of shopping facilities and

services had led to travelling to other areas, mainly to huge shopping malls in proper distant from Thornton.

Image 12. Green areas and the view to Table Mountain.

There was a declining spiral of emptiness in the streets. The lack of any kind of "street ballet" (Jacobs 1961/2003) had made the open areas more insecure in the absence of positive social control. Furthermore, spatial and social practices in Thornton looked very similar with the ones Sharon Zukin (2003, p. 141-143) had analysed in New York: residents´ social activities and spatiality had become more controlled and less spontaneous and leisure time spatiality had been privatized and become more financially determined.

However, the streets were tidy, and the overview of the area was clean. The was not much litter on the streets, and the first image of the neighbourhood was orderly. During the morning and afternoon rush hours there were lot of traffic, and more pedestrians in the streets. These pedestrians were predominantly black African people, walking to and from the railway station. Outside the peak hours, the side streets were very quiet. During the early evening hours there were also people other than black African people walking in the streets, mainly people who walked their dogs.

Image 13. A street view in Coral Tree Road.

Around the Dennehof circle there were men hanging around, lying on the circular green area and walk ways. They were said to be looking for a job, but how efficiently these job markets worked was left unanswered. Even though the place was central, open and there was traffic in the streets, the overall atmosphere was not appealing. Walking alone past the loiterers did not make one feel safe, especially women. It was explained that the loiterers came from outside, probably from the informal settlement just down the southern border of the neighbourhood.

Image 14. Job seeking and hanging around.

Summing up category 3

Public places and spaces did not contribute to social cohesion in Thornton. The lack of proper indoor and outdoor spaces for community gatherings affirmed the inward-oriented life style of the families.

The few community premises that existed were in poor condition, and two of them were rented to external operators. Outdoor spaces were not well maintained, and there were no parks or other grounds where people could easily gather. This prevented residents from spontaneous or effortless organized interaction around community “braai” (barbecue), which is perhaps the most uniting cultural affair in South Africa.

The two small shopping centres did not have inside passages, sitting areas or other meeting places for the customers or by-passers. The concentration of shops and businesses in large malls adds to delocalization of business from the small neighbourhoods. Thornton residents used facilities outside their own neighbourhood, which influenced the decline of personal contacts and personal service between local customers and entrepreneurs.

In this category, there were two spaces that were notably racially biased. First, the railway station and its proximate area was entirely non-white. There were only one or two sporadic white passengers a day. Most commuters and people just hanging around were black African people. About one-third of the commuters were coloured. The second racially oriented open space was the streets, where black African was the dominant group. There were two types of visibility of African people: those who used the train for commuting and walked between the station and home in Thornton, and the loiterers who presumably came from outside Thornton.

7.6 Locality in social media

Social media, especially Facebook have become an essential part of communication and social involvement. The independent life style and busy professional life restrict the willingness and opportunities to attend time-consuming community activities and association meetings. Social media networks have become increasingly important in channelling information and working as a meeting place, instead. However, social media has not replaced the importance of resident associations as the formal agency of the official connection towards the city administration and decision-making structures.

Next, I will present the Thornton official Facebook group, and then refer briefly to the previously mentioned other Facebook groups that are related to Thornton communities and associations. Most Facebook groups are closed and require membership status to follow the discussions. Finally, I will introduce the mobile application that is used in the neighbourhood.

Thornton Facebook group

> *"We aspire to building a cohesive community through positive interaction and positive engagement. We all want similar things in life of which the most common is surely to live in an environment which is safe, secure and a community that really cares for and about each other. We have the power to change our situation if we have the will to stand together."*

The Thornton Facebook group had about 2000 members in May 2017. The number had been growing steadily, being about 1400 in July 2016, about 1600 in October and about 1900 in January 2017. In October 2016, the racial distribution of the members was as following: 29% white, 54% coloured, 5% black African, and 12% were either collectivities or non-identifiable.

There were about 200 postings per month during July-November 2016, but the number has slightly increased since. According to the rules of the pages, sales marketing that was not related to Thornton or services that were not produced by Thornton residents were not allowed. Main issues and discussions can be classified into five groups: (1) marketing of local commercial services, for example offering nail studio services in Thornton, (2) offering/asking for assistance in mundane affairs, "who knows a good plumber", (3) lost dogs, "there´s a free running dog at Silveroak" (4) crime alerts, "suspicious car driving around Thornton in the late evening", and (5) general information delivery, "a call for the Ratepayers Association general meeting".

The slight majority of the posters were white people, but the difference compared to the number of coloured posters was not significant. The black Africans were almost exclusively absent. There was only one African poster in each of the two observation periods. In commenting on the postings, there was a similarly small difference in the activity between the white and coloured commentators. In both groups, there was a tendency for commenting more actively on the postings from one´s own racial group. This tendency was clearer among white people. The overall activity was concentrated. There was an active group of writers and commentators, while most of the members were silent followers. The discussions regarding neighbourhood comfortability and safety were especially run and discussed by a small group of active posters.

Residents followed the Facebook pages with different levels of interest. Many followed only the news and crime announcements in the neighbourhood, and whether there were any public service delivery issues informed. The common observer status addresses the relationship between passivity and interest in the living environment. It confirms the impression of individual life style that characterized the ordinary way of living in Thornton.

Civic associations, the ward councillor and religious communities informed people of their activities in Thornton Facebook pages. The wider information delivery and reaching as many residents as possible required the usage of the common Facebook group instead of the private Facebook group of each community. Facebook was much less utilized inside the communities, where the information delivery was taken care of through personal contacts and active face to face get togethers. This applied for both religious communities and civic associations.

The Zello mobile application was founded and run by Neighbourhood Watch activists. It worked as a prompt information channel when there were suspicious people, cars or incidents had been noticed. It also worked as an emergency -call for help when a crime was taking place

in the neighbourhood. All willing residents were able to join the network and getting as many people as possible involved was encouraged.

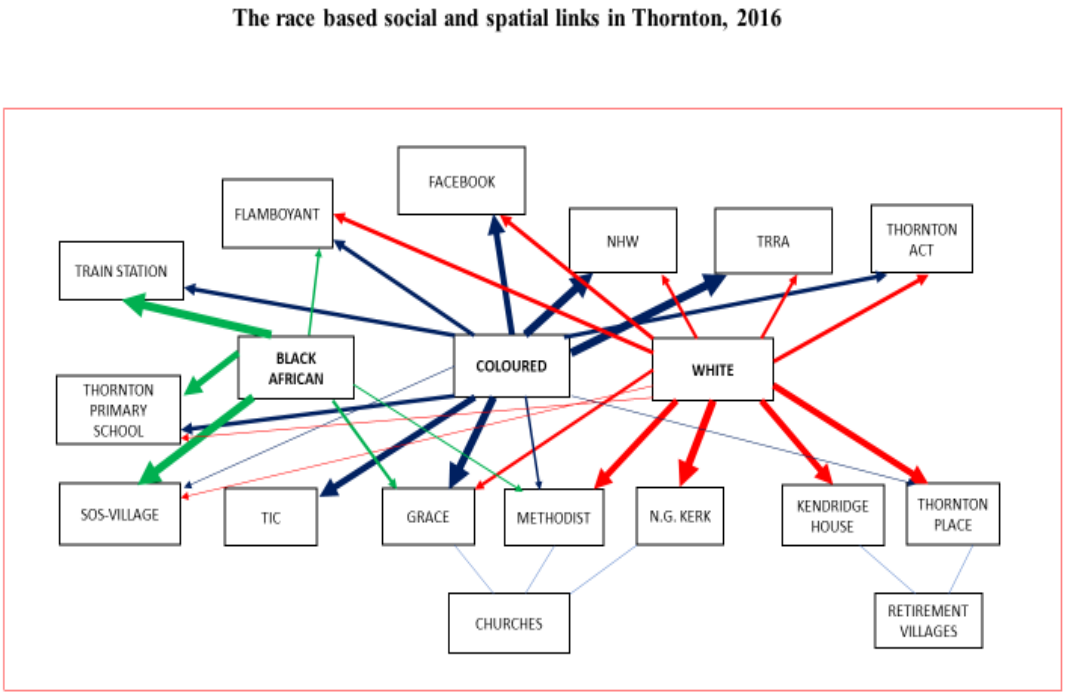


Figure 4. Race based social and spatial links in Thornton[20] [21].

[20] Abbreviations; TIC Thornton Islamic Community, N.G. Kerk Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, NHW Neighbourhood Watch, TRRA Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association, Flamboyant is a coffee shop, Thornton Act is a monthly public meeting organized by the ward councillor.

[21] The arrows show the orientation and extent of activity and participation in Thornton communities and public places. The width of arrows is based on calculations that were executed in places and communities over a period of 11 months of fieldwork. All places and communities have been observed and the participants counted several times. Numbers of the school children and SOS -Village children were gathered through interviews, of which three took place at the Primary School. Two interviews considered the SOS -Village, of which one was conducted at the village and the other by phone. The Zello mobile application network is not included in the figure, because the data on the racial distribution was not available.

Figure 4 shows the racial dimension of social and spatial links. It reveals the clear racially biased patterns of community participation and use of public places. Even though most places and spaces are to some point racially mixed, there is a strong racially determined spatial design in Thornton.

7.7 Conclusion: social and spatial practices´ impact on neighbourhood cohesion

This chapter studied neighbourhood social cohesion by analysing inclusive and exclusive social and spatial practices. The specific focus was on recognizing the race and racially identifiable customs and strategies. Social cohesion was studied through cohesion contributing and cohesion preventing dimensions and through terms of community building, participation, and the use of public space. The analysis was presented using four categories explaining the social and spatial forms of intentional and unintentional interaction.

The prevalent legacies of apartheid and the fragmentation of society still produce a challenge to local community development. This chapter explored which neighbourhood structures are and are not attractive, inviting and safe to encourage the use of community members, and to build bridges between the different groups. The inclusive and exclusive racial representations in local processes and every day social and spatial practices were analysed to demonstrate the conscious and subconscious response to post-apartheid society and transformation. The amount of racial heterogeneity in social groups, institutions and use of space works as an indicator of the post-apartheid small-scale nation-building process, and the success of the Rainbow Nation ideal.

The results showed that the community activity in Thornton was racially biased. The absence of black African people from the resident associations and civic activities was striking. Their proportion in local religious communities was also notably smaller than other race groups. The civic engagement and association involvement were for the most part “coloured”. White residents were to some point still active, but the participation depended on the older section of this population group. Some of the previously active white residents had retired from the community activity, and there was no active new generation to replace them.

The practices of community cohesion were exclusive even if the purpose for these practices was community integration. In other words, there was an urge to build neighbourhood

integration when addressing outside challenges and developing the community. However, the racially diversified involvement and non-involvement in these processes did not contribute to the inter-racial integration and neighbourhood community cohesion.

The racial distribution in associations and religious communities disclosed the behavioural manifestations that were either contributing to or preventing social cohesion There were simultaneous processes of inclusivity and exclusivity built in the community structures and in the initiatives the communities promoted. The community constitution worked in accordance with the previously created (traditional) structures of activity, and to these structures related ways of doing things. The structures and the culture for building the community and participation were inherited from the traditions of the previously white middle-class Thornton. The non-white residents had inherited different traditions and their ways of adapting to Thornton traditions, forms of social practices and community activity varied. Coloured residents mainly adopted the traditional place-based constructs, while black African residents tended to exclude themselves from the white suburb traditions of community building.

There was a sense of passivity and apathy in Thornton in general. The overall lack of interest and involvement in building a comfortable environment and a cosy atmosphere was not racially determined. Instead, the withdrawal and non-involvement were due to various other factors. Most professional, commercial and educational facilities were outside Thornton. The working-age people and families led a daytime life centred outside the neighbourhood. The lack of leisure time facilities and services in Thornton directed families to their recreation activities outside Thornton.

Public institutions, especially the school has a significant potential for promoting social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The combination of intentional and unintentional interaction among the school children could bind them and their families to the local community, fabricating integration and cohesion. However, due to the school preferences of the families in Thornton and other areas, the primary school in Thornton did not contribute to social cohesion. Instead, it was basically excluded from the neighbourhood community, and thus prevented the development of social cohesion.

The use of public places and spaces confirms the quiet and peaceful image of Thornton. There were no attractive places to gather, for the communities or for individual get togethers. Commercial premises were few and did not include cafes or inside areas for spontaneous interaction. The neighbourhood looked lifeless and empty, very much a sleepy suburb.

Emptiness led to the lack of positive social control in public spaces, which led to the potential for crime, which in turn emptied the open areas and streets even more. In general, public places were racially biased. The railway station especially, was non-white, and for the most part it was black African. The pedestrians in the street view were predominantly black African while the other groups were predominantly using cars.

To summarize, racially determined social cohesion happened between the white and the coloured residents, meanwhile the presence of black African people was much more limited and spatially different. The racially biased inclusive and exclusive processes materialized through the traditions of community participation and accustomed use of open public space.

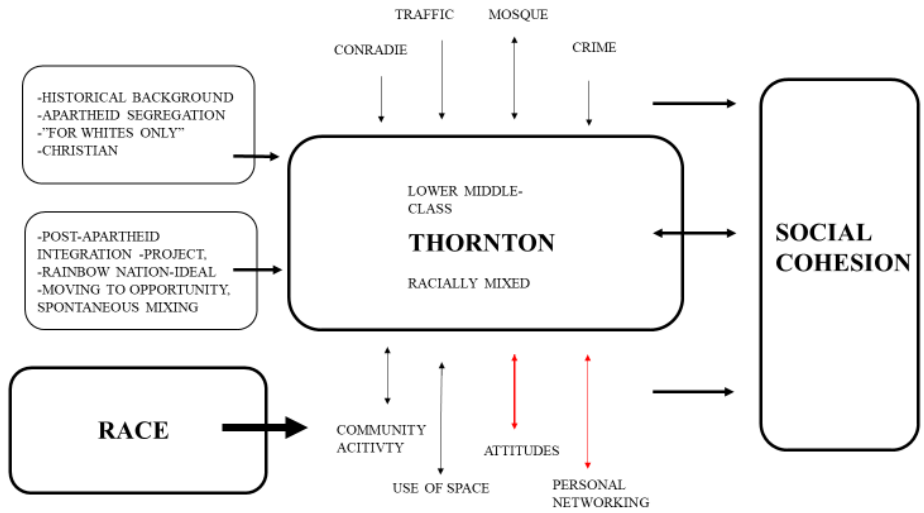


Figure 5. Updated research design.

(While the chapter 6 examined the arrows above Thornton box, and chapter 7 black arrows below Thornton box, the chapter 8 will examine the remaining, red arrows).

Chapter 8

Neighbours in imagination and practice

8.1 Associating with the new neighbours

This chapter addresses social cohesion by analysing attitudes and their behavioural manifestations in Thornton. While the previous chapter concentrated on social practices and shared spaces in explaining the potentiality of localized social cohesion, this chapter focuses on the perceptions of the individual residents in explaining the inter-racial integration and neighbourhood social cohesion.

The post-apartheid everyday reality has changed for everyone, and everyone has had to cope with the new environment, with the new society and in Thornton especially, with the new neighbours. By analysing the residents´ approach and attitudes towards their changed neighbours and neighbourhood, this chapter discusses the post-apartheid interracial integration through the thoughts and mindsets of ordinary people. Their experienced mundane realities in a racially mixed surrounding and their negotiating the everyday contacts with racial groups other than their own contributes to the understanding of the post-apartheid nation building - project. The willingness and openness of Thornton residents to get along with neighbours from other than their own race group discusses the reinforcements and challenges for multiracialism or non-racialism in society in general. Thus, Thornton may be interpreted both as a product and as a reflection of the broader atmosphere in contemporary South Africa. Racial identities and post-apartheid changes are influencing the re-negotiating the identities among the individuals in different race groups in Thornton. At the same time, the thoughts and attitudes of Thornton residents can be generated as illustrating the more common mentality in South Africa.

The adaptation of different race groups builds on their diverse backgrounds and life experiences. The change of the racial distribution and the new colour of the new neighbours involve different preconceptions and understanding for each race group and for each individual. The complexity between the apartheid legacy, individual and group identities and the post-apartheid experiences develop multifaceted conditions and mechanisms for being involved, negotiating social contacts and socializing in the neighbourhood context.

8.2 Categorizing attitudes and their behavioural manifestations

While in the previous chapter social cohesion was analysed through inclusive and exclusive social and spatial neighbourhood practices, in this chapter, the focus is on the neighbourhood mindset, and on the impact of the attitudes and behavioural manifestations of the individual residents. The analysis of social cohesion contributing and social cohesion preventing elements is based on previously explained and applied pluralistic theoretical frame.

The Thornton mental environment has been analysed through the aspects which either contribute or prevent social cohesion. The contributing and preventing dimensions are discussed through two main approaches; first is the residents´ attitudes and mindsets towards the other race groups, and second is the behavioural manifestations generated from these attitudes and mindsets. The cohesion contributing elements talk about the openness towards the other and consenting to neighbourhood transformation. The preventing elements talk about the suspicious preconceptions, apprehension and disapproval of the new and other.

Table 14. Mindset approach to the social cohesion

	Contributing to social cohesion	**Preventing social cohesion**
Attitudes towards other race groups	Tolerance, acceptance, trust (1)	Prejudice, stereotyping, social control (3)
Attitude-related behavioural manifestations	Friendship links, individual activity in building interracial contacts (2)	Non-interest, self-exclusion, apathy, disturbing behaviour (4)

In the detailed analysis and presentation, attitudes and behavioural manifestations related to them have been divided into four categories. The first category (1) (Table 14) discusses cohesion-contributing elements: tolerance, acceptance and trust. The second category (2) explains behavioural manifestations of these attitudes in the first category by displaying the individual participation in the building of the neighbourhood unity, interaction across the race and friendship links in their personal life sphere. The third category (3) explains cohesion-preventing elements: prejudice and stereotyping, social control and cultural differences. The fourth category (4) explains behavioural manifestations of cohesion preventing elements and

suspicion towards inter-racial integration: non-involvement, apathy, self-exclusion and disturbing behaviour. Each category is built on the findings in the interview material, and the categories are presented through examples and quotations.

The importance of religion emerged during the fieldwork. Religion is not a race issue in Thornton as such, but the discussions and contradictions around religion in Thornton were central to such an extent, that attention has to be paid to the issue. Religion is a cause of prejudice, and there are cultural differences, perceived or experienced, related to religion. Religious orientations are to some extent racially integrating, but at the same time there are racially biased implications around the religion as well. It is thus essential to discuss this question when explaining social cohesion in Thornton. Hence, religion is introduced and discussed within the four categories.

8.3 Cohesion contributing attitudes

First category relates to cohesion contributing elements. The focus is on a positive and open-minded approach towards interracial interaction and social integration. This category shows how constructive opinions and trustful attitudes are advocated in speech. The central concepts are tolerance, acceptance and trust.

Delineating tolerance, acceptance and trust

Tolerance refers to a non-judgmental attitude towards the Other. It bears connotations of patience and fairness. Acceptance goes beyond tolerance. Acceptance refers to consenting to the reality and recognizing the condition without attempting to change it. Acceptance is about respecting the different way of life and welcoming different customs.

Tolerance is possible without acceptance, but acceptance is seldom possible without tolerance. While tolerance is defined as “the commitment of people to put up with each other”, acceptance includes a deeper approval and understanding of Otherness. Understanding is intertwined with both concepts. Understanding contributes to acceptance, and on occasion, understanding and acceptance of the Other can be referred to as synonyms.

Horwitz approaches tolerance from the point of view of social control (1990, p. 101). For him tolerance indicates the absence of social control efforts in a situation in which the deviant

behaviour is acknowledged. Even though the accustomed codes of conduct are violated, the response is not executing sanctions against offenders. Deviant behaviour is tolerated.

Vice versa, the "membership seeker", the "outsider" demonstrates conformity-oriented behaviour in order not to be judged by others, and more so to be accepted by others. Hence, deviant behaviour is consciously avoided. Putnam (2000, p. 355) has analysed the relationship between social capital and tolerance. He separates the circumstances between high/low social capital and high/low tolerance and their crossing encounter. The optimal state for community cohesion would be when there is a state of high social capital and high tolerance. While the situation with high social capital and low tolerance is hard to imagine, the situation of low social capital and high tolerance is in fact common and characterizes the suburban inward oriented and individualistic life style. Scheidegger (2015, p. 52) builds on the same rationale and states that tolerance and social cohesion grow and improve in the absence of latent conflict.

Trust is about believing in the benevolence and honesty of the other party. It makes social lives predictable and creates a sense of togetherness (Putnam, 2000, p. 288; Misztal, 1996, p. 12). Mutual recognition of belonging and sharing a group membership builds and establishes trust. Trust also involves shared views and values of the borders of suitability and violation of proper behaviour. When the proper customs are mutually accepted, the group or community also defines its flexibility towards deviance. Then, a high level of mutual trust enables and tolerates some anomalies and deviant customs.

"We see no colour"

In Thornton, residents expressed their understanding of the society level change and the need for social integration. People considered the integration process in South Africa had proceeded, but that the process of healing the nation was still under way. There was a good amount of reconciliation mentality, and the multicolour South Africa was taken as a norm. Tolerance and acceptance of other racial groups were common.

Tolerance and acceptance seemed to be passive approval of what was happening in society and in the neighbourhood. Living in a racially mixed neighbourhood was regarded as indisputable. Neighbours of different racial background talked about good neighbourly relations between all groups. Thornton was defined not to be a polarized community, contrary to the common spatial segregation in Cape Town. There was no difference between race groups how they perceived neighbours with other colour than their own.

A coloured female was sensitive towards all race groups, and their struggle in facing the new society and new people. For her, feeling prejudice when facing the strange and unknow was understandable, and she understood the fear of white people when their neighbourhood started to change. She felt compassionate towards both her own group and the black African people in struggling their way forward:

> *"You´re finding the coloureds they are struggling also a lot, you´re finding also whites struggling a lot… it must be for whites, blacks and coloureds, not just for one group or type…".*

A white male considered the integration of different socio-economic groups to be a good thing. The need to compensate for the past discrimination and inequality was understandable. A black female explained the circumstances in which society was at the stage where *"all have messed up in turn"*, and there was a need to start building a better society together.

The most common expression concerning inter-racial relationships was *"we see no colour"*. In the neighbourly relations race was not meaningful, even though people could clearly define the race of their neighbours. The notion that we see no colour, no race, no religion, but instead, we see only humans, was common among residents from all race groups. A black African male explained that there is no race issue in Thornton: *"We have gone past that era or that stage. Since we moved here, we´ve never had any issues of race."* A white male explained that race does not play any role, at least in public. A coloured young man said that the race means nothing, and that his friends are all coloured and black Africans.

Seeing no colour was explained as a question of equal socio-economic status and same life style. Thornton easily accommodated all colours when they adapted to the middle-class way of life. A white male explained that tolerance evolves from one´s individual life style, not from the community orientation. A coloured couple gave the same characterization by claiming that race is not the issue, when all have the same middle-class life style. A white female explained about their close neighbours: *"We had a lawyer, a wonderful clever coloured lady lawyer, but they moved to Pinelands...very nice people"*.

Acceptance of the diversity and different customs in Thornton were widely voiced, especially between coloured and white residents. A white male noted that coloured and white people have found each other. Another white male explained that before people did not know about the differences, because they did not live together. He considered the present situation to be open towards other races and their customs. The coloured characterizations of their white neighbours

were few. They emphasized the change of mentality, growing tolerance and acceptance that had taken place during recent years. Long-time coloured residents had witnessed more intolerance and discrimination in the past, and when they first had moved to Thornton. Subsequently, they experienced Thornton white residents being very open, and they felt equal.

A coloured female explained that the originally Afrikaans-speaking white people had been open to the new residents. According to her perception, there was no prejudice, bitterness or guilt that affected interracial interaction and acceptance. There were many characterizations of Afrikaans speaking whites as warm and more open than the English speaking whites. Even though the Afrikaans speaking whites were considered to be more conservative when it came to family values and religious customs, they were considered to be more genuine and more open towards other race groups and social mixing. A white female emphasized that when the black African neighbours have lots of celebrations in their properties *"we whites have to embrace it"*.

The non-attention of other colours or customs is also considered acceptance. One example of a silent approval of the new society was how no one brings up the issue of mixed marriages. There were only few in Thornton, and they got no recognition. Mixed marriages were not mentioned in any of the interviews, or other discussions. In national level surveys, interracial marriages are least-approved of among the white people. When compared to the acceptance of racial integration in the spheres of professional life, school and neighbourhood, mixed marriages scored lowest among all race groups. (Wale, 2014, p. 25).

In most cases people, knew their closest neighbours and had easy-going everyday connections. There was a good amount of trust between the next-door neighbours. As an example, the leaving of the house keys with the neighbour when going away, was mentioned. A coloured female told that the white male neighbour has a backup key to their house. Neighbours called each other if there was something to inform them about and happening nearby. There was overall trust that residents in Thornton were "good people". The crime in Thornton comes from outside, and residents found each other to be reliable and trustworthy.

Tolerance and acceptance of different religion

The acceptance of neighbours with a different religion was common. Christians explained that their Muslim neighbours build big houses and extensions, but their values and way of life were

accepted. A white male described the Muslims as being mostly quiet, and not disturbing others. A white female explained further:

> *"I don´t have a problem with Muslims…to each its own. We are not here to criticize other people´s religion, you know, like the Anglican, the Presbyterian, and the Baptist – we all believe in the same God."*

The building of a new mosque caused hesitations, though. The expected loud services and increasing traffic especially on Fridays were frequently mentioned. However, for most individual Christian respondents, it was self-evident that everyone has a right to a place of worship. While there are many churches in Thornton, Muslim residents are also entitled to their own place of prayer and services. Muslim respondents did not characterize or judge their Christian neighbours. There were notions of self-experienced prejudice in general, but they did not focus on any specific neighbours.

Cherishing integration

When residents were asked about their views of interracial integration in Thornton, most of them had not really thought about it. A middle-age white female spoke about how lovely it is when children of different colours were playing together at their home street. Another white female mentioned her friend, an old white lady, who walks alone to the church every week, and the black African neighbour of this lady had expressed her deep concern about the safety of this lady and offered her a lift. A black African male explained how the "braai" (barbecue) unites all people in South Africa and binds different races together. A coloured male approached the theme by explaining that there were no segregated blocks in Thornton; instead, Thornton was well integrated.

In Thornton in general, the change in the society and neighbourhood was taken as being unavoidable, and according to some respondents, necessary. There was a good amount of openness towards the unfamiliar other. The mixed neighbourhood and neighbours of different colours were cherished in words and thoughts. However, the tolerance and acceptance seemed somehow vague and the approval of the new and the other stayed on the surface level.

Widespread desire for more interracial interaction was hard to find. This corresponds with the national level results on the general development of a willingness towards deeper interracial integration. During the ten-year period 2003-2013 survey, the desire for more interracial talk and desire to learn more about the customs of other races have decreased in all race groups.

White people have shown the least interest in interracial talk, followed by the black African people. The most significant decrease in the desire for more interracial talk has happened among the coloured people, though. (Wale, 2014, p. 24-25).

The desire for a better future was raised in some cases. However, the statements were impersonal, and discussion was about the desire for more tolerance and acceptance at a very general level. A white male said that the "*anti-social attitudes will get fixed in time*". A coloured female emphasized that

> *"We have to be fair…we need to pray for government… so we need to just open our eyes and see this, it´s for people, it´s people involved here, it´s not about us alone."*

Another coloured female pointed out that people need to learn to live with people of all colours. In summary, it sounds like the integration was somehow being left to later generations, and many referred to post-apartheid generations having it easier to live together, because they learn to mix already young.

In the next category, I discuss how the good will in speech translated into activity and building personal contacts across the race.

8.4 Cohesion contributing behavioural manifestations

The second category explores residents´ behavioural manifestations of willingness and openness towards interracial interaction. While the previous category showed the wide acceptance of the change and new neighbours, this category looks at how these attitudes translate into everyday social practices, and whether the claims of Forrest & Kearns, (2001, p. 2130) and Henning & Lieberg (1996) that tolerance and co-operation are created and encouraged through mundane neighbourhood contacts, is true in Thornton. Hence, in this part the focus is on residents´ active efforts to create and nurture interracial integration. This is done through analysing residents´ orientation to interracial contacts in their everyday social interactions, the orientation to create interracial friendship links and to build multicultural neighbourhood. The focus is on personal participation and activity.

When the residents were asked about their interracial interaction in practice, the overall outcome showed an impersonal approach towards the issue. There were two traditions that

could be traced in the answers and residents´ pondering. First, people took their multiracial neighbourhood as being the norm, and integration happening by doing nothing special. People explained about having good relations with their neighbours, even though they were not socializing with each other more closely. Thornton was characterized as a small neighbourhood where people knew and helped each other. As a white male asserted, the best integration was to live side by side. This reaction confirms the notion: "we see no colour". Second, while the personal interracial contacts of the respondents seemed to be rare, the forms of interaction were thus explained through general community activities. People were trying to come up with examples to show that integration really happens. A white male respondent mentioned that churches and Neighbourhood Watch organize community days at which all people can come together and relate to one another. Both ways of explaining the personal integration was somehow outsourced. Instead of explaining personal interaction and contacts, the socializing across race was approached impersonally and without personal integrity.

Closer contacts and friendships occurred, though. Some residents actively gathered people and deliberately built integration among all neighbours. A white lady organized get togethers at which all people and neighbours were welcomed. According to her words *"nobody is a stranger"*. If there was a new neighbour in the street, she invited everyone to a welcome party. A white man felt close to coloureds: *"My real friends are coloureds...I identify with coloureds"*. A coloured female told that when she had lived in Thornton, she and her family had had good relations with their neighbours of different race. A child of a black African family had played with hers, and the families had visited each other. Children of a white neighbour had been friends with her daughter. Later when she had moved to Pinelands she found people were living more to themselves there. A common comprehension was that white and coloured people had mixed well: *"I learnt to live comfortably with the whites already early"*.

There was some difference between the race groups and their orientation to friendship formation. Black African respondents had least local contacts. Fourteen out of 18 respondents mentioned they had no social contacts in Thornton, and they did not know and did not take part in any communities in Thornton. Most of working-age people and families with school age children from all race groups had their social life outside Thornton. Older white people made an exception, though. They had their major social contacts in Thornton. They had lived in Thornton for decades and had known each other 'always'.

Religious communities in Thornton united people, and local friends that people had were from one´s own community. Many considered their religious community as their family, and thus, the members in the community were their close friends. Churches united people from different race groups. Only a few residents had friends in Thornton outside religious communities. And only few socialized - other than chatting every now and then - with their neighbours.

> *"I have friends in Grace Church…I know my neighbours, but we don´t socialise." (c f)*[22]

> *"We have friends (in Thornton) outside the community (TIC), not much though. Obviously we have friends outside of Thornton, we´ve got Kuils River, Kraaifontein, we´ve got Kensington." (c f)*[23]

Many respondents mentioned that their religious communities were outside Thornton. Some of them were in neighbouring Pinelands and Langa, and often in these cases, the social life was more commonly centred around these areas. The newer residents had families and friends in their previous places of stay, and the contacts to former residential areas were still close.

> *"I don´t have friends in Thornton…my social life is elsewhere. I used to go to Grace Church, but now my church is in Bellville." (b f)*

> *"I have many (friends) in Pinelands, purely simply because my church is in Pinelands... I don´t really have that many - I don´t have any (friends in Thornton)". (w f)*

> *"Like I´m Anglican, I go to either Langa or Century City… my friends in Langa they never come to Thornton, I always go there." (b m)*

Some Muslims said they wished to build bridges across religions. They organized a braai on Friday nights in the Mosque front yard. Their aim was to gather all people in Thornton together to a braai, but so far it had only attracted people from their own community.

> *"If people can´t look past race or whatever, then you should show them: this is the way it´s done". (M f)*

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[22] All following abbreviations:
w f: white female, b f: black African female, c f: coloured female, M f: Muslim female
w m: white male, b m: black African male, c m: coloured male, M m: Muslim male

[23] TIC: Thornton Islamic Community

8.5 Cohesion preventing attitudes

This category concerns residents´ attitudes and assumptions that work against integration and neighbourhood cohesion. It analyses the inheritance of apartheid segregation and the ways previous racial exclusion has left an imprint on how people see each other and understand a person from a race group other than their own. The ways the inherited disconnection reproduces pessimistic views between the new neighbours have been analysed through the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping and social control.

Prejudice and stereotyping were derived from cultural differences, whether perceived or real, i.e. differences in everyday customs and life styles. The negotiation of cultural difference was shown in the practices of social control. Among the older residents the way "things had been" was seen as a norm, and the new people disrupted the social and behavioural equilibrium. Cultural differences challenged the established way of life. The new residents from different non-white race groups also carried the apartheid legacy and had biased perceptions of the groups other than their own, and their customs.

Prejudice and stereotyping

> *"For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see*." *(Lippman 1922).*

In society, where neighbourly contacts between different race groups were almost non-existent twenty-four years ago, the knowledge and familiarity beyond racial lines are still weak, and often based on the experience and stories of someone else. The Other is unfamiliar and is filled with potentially misleading images. Then, stereotyping the Other becomes a way to negotiate uncertainty and social ambivalence. Stereotype is defined as an exaggerated belief associated with a favourable or unfavourable category (Dovidio et al. 2010; Pettigrew 1998; Allport 1954, p.191), and it guides and justifies the conduct in relations to this category. The commonly acknowledged images and perceptions of the culture and habits are firmly stuck, and stereotyping, even if recognized, is thus difficult to abolish. As Walter Lippmann (1922, p. 81) wrote: "*In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and then we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture."*

In Thornton, people judged other groups on the basis of mostly impersonal experience and also of their historical knowledge. In Thornton, many of the prejudiced statements followed the portrayals and terminology used in society in general. The definitions concerning other race groups were not voiced regarding specific individual neighbours but were based on more generally acknowledged labelling. Stereotyping happened more at a group level, rather than at an individual level. The contact between representatives of a different racial group, whether they represented the stereotyped version of their population group or not, may then have been conducted with a positive approach and without stereotyping the individual other. With this logic, the individual neighbour was perceived as an anomaly, and the experienced qualities were not translated to provide for other representatives of his/her group.

There was a clear pattern of considering your neighbours of "whatever colour" as "good people". It was paradoxical, though, that the "goodness" among the neighbours did not generate to wider understanding and reduction of prejudice. Living in the same street with "good people" did not reduce stereotyping of a specific race as a group, and the individual connection and interaction did not automatically diminish group-level prejudices. Overall stereotyping was persistent, even though there was growing number of collective and individual contacts taking place and a decrease in the origins of labelling.

The clearest prejudiced expressions, resentment and disapproval of the habits and manners of other groups, were more outspoken among the older white people. Their experience of the change in their neighbourhood had been disappointing. Most opinions and attitudes of the Thornton older white residents could be traced from the more common society level stereotyping. Their personal experience of the black African people in Thornton was clearly more limited than their strong opinions of the black African group as a whole. The working - age white people in Thornton were more integration-oriented and spoke about the interracial relations in conciliatory manner. The clear and straight forward expressions of prejudice were significantly fewer among the other groups. Coloured people expressed racialized views of black African people in more subtle ways. However, on many occasions their approach corresponded with the ones the older white people presented.

There were some unexplained barriers and sense of the Other between black African and non-black African residents. One of the residents noted that people were prejudiced even if they talked about something else, and they did not recognize their own prejudiced thinking. The black African people´s way of expressing prejudice was more vague, unformed and obscure.

For example, they did not use stereotypes of white people, but between the lines, there was a distance, like a wall between them and the white people, and also between them and the coloured people.

"I just haven´t used to be with the whites." (b m)

Coloured people approached prejudice by comparing the change of atmosphere in Thornton during the past two decades. Even though there was an overall prejudice still left, it was much less than 10 or 20 years ago. Their personally experienced prejudice had generally diminished. Most coloured residents identified themselves as the establishment of Thornton, belonging and being included as full members of the community.

There was not much prejudiced stereotyping being voiced between white and coloured residents. A white male described coloured people as suffering from the need to prove themselves to be sufficient and acceptable. In his opinion this was not necessary, and he found coloured people to be like the whites. A white resident argued that the coloured people did not want to reside with the black African people. According to this resident, this was the reason for the coloured people´s opposition to the new Conradie development. It might bring more black African people into the neighbourhood and change the image of Thornton.

People from all race groups disclosed that the older people had grown up with prejudices, but the new generations had it different. Children born after apartheid had lived their lives in multicultural and multi-ethnic environments. They learnt not to see the colour of another person as their parents had done.

In the next few pages, I will portray the perceptions and descriptions of the different race groups on each other through detailed examples and quotes. All quotes were collected from the interviews. The pre-planned question list did not include questions about characterizing of other races. Instead, the questions concentrated on the attitudes towards the change in Thornton and respondents´ personal evaluation of the change, respondents´ community activity, interaction and social networks and friendship links, respondents´ understanding of the meaning of race for themselves, and perception of the meaning of race for people in their own racial group and for people from racial groups other than their own. The interview questions and situations were not formulated to attract negative definitions of other race groups or individuals. The next presentation arrangement and examples were generated from the respondents´ answers and stories. The expressions "black people" and "blacks" instead of black

African are intermittently applied outside quotations, following the language used by the respondents, and to show the linguistic reality people in Thornton and South Africa live in.

Freeloaders and unwelcomed

Black African people´s approach to education and school life appeared as a big concern among the non-black Africans in Thornton. The restlessness in class work had risen notably. The behavioural problems were common, and this caused problems in class rooms and during the breaks. A previous teacher noted that the children did not have good manners any more. Black African children wanted to be seen and heard, and they made a show through-out the school day. This was a big difference compared to previous times and the manners of previous white generations.

The racial change of Thornton Primary School has been profound. In 2016, most of the children were black Africans and they came to the school from outside Thornton, mainly from the townships of Langa and Gugulethu. The parents of these children were not considered to be interested in their children´s school life, in neither the homework and learning nor the involvement of other school related activities, for example fund raising. The success of previous white schools and present good schools was considered to have been based on the parents´ interests in their children´s education, and involvement in school life. The poor results of black African pupils were explained through this parental negligence.

The unspoken prejudice that laid beneath the surface in Thornton was the school choices of the parents and families in Thornton. There were basically no white children at the Thornton Primary any more, at least half of the children came from outside Thornton and they were mostly black Africans. Most of the non-black African children living in Thornton went to schools in neighbouring areas, preferably in Pinelands and in Goodwood. All these schools were multiracial, but they were considered to be better schools, because of the parental involvement and the middle-class socio-economic background of the families. Even though people in Thornton said the schools brought the children of different racial groups together, and their children grow up with all colours, the local school was not used for this cherished idea of integration.

The black African families were described as not paying school fees. This was reasoned by the fact that black people were not used to it, because in the townships they were used to having

very low or no school fees. While a significant number of pupils in Thornton Primary came from townships, the culture of not paying for education caused problems at Thornton Primary.

> *"That´s very problematic…lots of kids come here and they don´t pay…they come everywhere and they don´t pay… and it´s not much you can do." (w f)*

Not paying for the education was also explained by the mentality of entitled compensation for previous oppression. Among non-black African residents this thought/philosophy was not accepted, but instead, considered black African people as being freeloaders.

> *"If you´re a black or a coloured person and you sought for university and you cannot afford it, you easily cry racism… why not work hard enough to get to varsity, why ask for money when you can work… …like a sent entitlement like you want from the government." (c m)*

Black African people were considered as not being willing to work. This understanding was generated from the experiences especially, but not exclusively, among the older white people. There were black African men hanging around the streets in Thornton and around the Dennehof shopping centre, not especially going anywhere.

> *"…lot of people sit aside of the road…. they are there all day…I suppose they go out and say I´m gonna look for work, but …it doesn´t look like they wanting to work, cause they´re just laying there." (w f)*

This understanding was confirmed through the experience at the grocery shop, *where "the till lady, always black …half the time they talk to each other and they don´t care whether you´re there or not"*. These experiences translated into idleness of black African people. Many considered that black people do not want to work because they are not used to it, and again the motif of freeloading reappears.

> *"They come here excepting housing, and then they start demanding…they want things for nothing… we had to work for living, for what we´ve got." (w f)*

> *"None of us had a handout, we never had given a house." (w f)*

Expanding the reasoning to avoid working, the motive for increasing xenophobia in South Africa was explained because the black people hate the foreigners who want to work. Upsetting

also was the continuing demands and discontent towards the charity that was given. For example, poor black people have complained that the soup that local churches had offered them not proper food.

Idleness was linked to negligence, also a characteristic attributed to black African people. According to this characteristic black people could not maintain things, but instead waited for someone else to fix things for them, whether it was a broken tractor or a railway line. Instead of being accused of a leading privileged life, the older white residents claimed that they had worked for their homes, as opposed to the demands of black African people to get housing and education for free. Black African people were described the same way as for example Brazilian middle class describes "the little people" (see Caldeira, 2000, p.69) in Brazil; those who have a "squandering mentality". These poor people do not know how to work efficiently, consume properly, and they waste resources through "leaving a faucet open".

Other race groups explained the reasons for black African residents not being well included in Thornton community. Black people resided in Thornton, but they did not socialize there. Due to *"cultural differences"*, black people were not part of the established culture, and they *"struggled to fit in"*. It was also suggested that black people cannot *"really afford to live here"* and they have to move away. All the strongest statements and stereotyping related to the black African people other than Thornton residents and close neighbours.

Black people don´t care about their traditions, there is no more ubuntu left, they even kill each other. Black men look down on women. Blacks are violent. Tribalism is bad. Blacks don´t think, they have a president that cannot count. Blacks steal the electricity, they steal everything, like from the old Conradie hospital. Black people don´t respect the laws. They practice their own common laws, for example community judges and sets penalties inside their own tribe or neighbourhood, like street courts. Black people can´t farm.

Most notions went beyond Thornton and Cape Town. For example, black African people from Eastern Cape moved to Western Cape, because there were jobs and a functional infrastructure, and good public services were accessible. These people were considered to be a burden on the Western Cape public services and environmental sustainability of the city.

These notions revealed the generic atmosphere and beliefs, not the actual attitudes concerning their own neighbourhood and neighbours. However, distrust of this kind had an impact on the integration willingness in Thornton even if the statements did not focus on close neighbours. The anxiety in Thornton was thus built on two premises: the prior stereotyping and the

assumption of an individual of the stereotype others have of her/him. (Finchilescu, 2010; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Some of the avoidance of interaction and getting involved can be traced from the preconceptions that black African people have of what others think of them. Pettigrew (2010, p. 420) talks about the stereotype threat, that is triggered by the awareness and attention that others view your group as inadequate. The belief that some people are still thinking they are better than black African people, because they were taught that way during apartheid, divides people. The inherited memories of the time when black African population were not allowed in urban areas and Cape Town, has left strong imprint in people´s minds. The non-belonging of black African people emerged in both the self-reflective notions of black African residents, and in previously showed statements of non-black African residents.

> *"There is always that feel that Africans don´t belong to the Western Cape." (b m)*
>
> *"My parents were always regarded as visitors in this country, they were not treated as also people that belong here." (b m)*
>
> *"Generally, it´s a Cape Town thing…people are not as welcoming as in other provinces… where I come from people invite you to do things with them." (b f)*

Black African residents approached and practiced the prejudice from a different perspective. Thornton and its residents were characterized as one unity. Black African residents did not give labels and descriptions of the different way of life of the other race groups or neighbours. They did not give definitions and determinations of the nature of white or coloured people. For example, white people were not portrayed as unfriendly, but the neighbourhood was described as such.

Stereotyping and prejudice were focused on Thornton as one entity composed of the place and the people. Black African people talked about "Thornton" when they were really talking about the people and the lifestyle of those people. However, black African people approached Thornton as a place that was produced by all its residents. There was a contradiction in some definitions and descriptions, while the image of Thornton was persistently "for whites only", even if the demographic reality showed differently. Some saw Thornton residents as being entirely white, or at least non-black African. Some black African respondents defined all

Thornton residents with the same attributes, despite the racial category they belonged to. Thornton was still considered unfriendly towards non-white newcomers.

Even though black African respondents did not give harsh labels or stereotyping attributes to non-black Africans the same way as the other race groups did of the them, the prejudice towards non-black groups was very much present. It just took a different verbal form.

The middle-class individual life style was considered to be as inaccessible and exclusive. New people were not invited into social networks, which was explained as being opposite to African communities. Thornton was also characterized as a place *"for the rich people"*.

> *"People here are more to their own thing than seeing a need in other person." (b f)*

> *"You can cry alone here, and nobody can come." (b f)*

The difference between the lifestyles in old and new neighbourhoods, Thornton and townships, were compared. The Langa way of life was considered more collective and inclusive. In the townships, people visit each other spontaneously and live more outdoors which makes street life livelier. In Thornton, people were characterized as being inbound and insular. One could not rely on the neighbours, borrow sugar or money. Thornton was considered to be very reserved and prejudiced. If someone was having a party and making noise in Langa, no one worried about that. The common interpretation was that if you make noise in Thornton, the neighbours will call the police.

There were self-reflective notions of how black African people living in Thornton had adapted to the new way of life. Black Africans that had moved to Thornton from townships were accused of forgetting where they had come from or for playing two roles; the traditional way of life inside township networks, and the whitewashed life in Thornton. Black African people operated in two worlds, and in the margins of two cultures.

> *"Lifestyle of Langa is still in their bones." (b f)*

In some statements, Thornton residents were described as being unfriendly regardless of their colour. A female black African pointed out that people in Thornton were selfish despite their colour. This confirmed the previously presented notion that Thornton residents were alike despite their racial category. A black African resident who had moved to Thornton from outside the Western Cape considered the local African mainstream, the Xhosa-culture to be exclusive

towards his different ethnic background. In Thornton he was considered to be a black African, but among the black Africans he was considered to be an outsider. However, black African residents did not seem to form their own in-racial communities in general. There was a disconnection between residents from diverse African and Cape Town backgrounds. For example, there was no identifiable Langa group or Gugulethu group based on the original place of stay.

Few statements that arose during the interviews were linked to a discussion around the prevalent inequality in society. Most of these notions were resentful and bitter in nature. Durrheim & Dixon (2010, p. 284) have analysed the relationship between intergroup contacts and racially determined support for transformation and integration policies. They have come to same conclusion with Roberts, Weir-Smith and Reddy (2011) that at a more general level, more inter-racial contacts were associated with less support for the affirmative policies among the middle-class black African people. In Thornton, these policies were discussed with black African residents on few occasions. In these discussions, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies were condemned as not working well anymore. The professional life, salary levels and overall employment favoured the whites again.

> *"World goes around whiteness. In a way we´re made better slaves… We are going to be held back until, I don´t know when, but like that." (b m)*

Imprecise uneasiness

There was a wide range of vague argumentation about not being comfortable with people from another race. There was no concrete reason or personal discouraging experiences behind these attitudes. The Otherness was beyond exact definitions, but it was very real, though. The perception of all people socializing mainly within their own race group was common.

> *"I´m very close with my one neighbour next door… I think because X was from my school and because the people that were moving in were from similar social cultural background, it did become a lot easier to talk over the fence and to go into each other's homes." (c f)*

> *"People prefer to keep within themselves." (b m)*

> *"I hang out with my friends in Langa and Epping, not in Thornton. My standard of living suits Thornton, my social life no." (b m)*

"The blacks have different values". (w m)

"I cannot relate to a white person." (b f)

"I feel that black people, they don´t want to live here." (w m)

"It´s hard for a white to be close with a non-white – it just is so, people engage with the people alike." (w f)

Defining social control

"Suddenly there was this cock, every morning as the sunrise … that´s just not on in a suburb… you can´t do that here, it´s not allowed." (w f)

Social control refers to the desire to maintain a given order in a specific society, and thus, accepted standards of behaviour to maintain the established equilibrium. Social control displays the social norms, "should" and "should not" behaviours (Sumner, 2013/1906). It involves the socialization of the members of the society into the society, and thus bringing the whole social system into conformity. (Carmichael, 2014; Mead, 1925). Social control involves guarding and protecting the norms and the normative order, i.e. the proper ways of behaving.

The violations of the normative behaviour challenge the contextual common sense notions of right and wrong, and existing moral beliefs and customs. Deviant behaviour, as defined by Kaplan, Gostjev & Johnson 2013, is regarded as being undesirable, and hence, individuals should live according to the given norms of conduct. If not, the surrounding community tries to bring its members back into conformity and the recognized standards of behaviour. The deviance is understood as an incomplete process of social inclusion and responding to the aberration as "a corrective for inadequate socialization" (LaPiere, 1954).

The means to influence individual behaviour to live up to the expected norms varies from apparent use of force, persuasion or experienced expectations from an individual´s close social networks. Luther R. Bernard (2013/1939) distinguished between conscious and unconscious means of social control. The conscious means are agreed written or spoken standards, such as laws or curricula in education. The unconscious means are related to primary social groups, and address themes of tradition, customs and convention. Horwitz (1990, p. 5) agrees with Bernard, and continues that the logic of social control is based on informal norms that govern interpersonal relations.

The spontaneous forms of social control (Park, 1967, p. 209), the informal means, address traditions, religious customs, sympathy, resentment, folkways, public opinion and sociability. The informal means are more powerful in primary social groups, and their impact is reduced in larger communities. Susan Ziehl (2003, p. 195) has identified the primary role of the family for socialization and inclusion.

In this study, social control is discussed through showing the perceptions and attitudes of the members of different race groups on each other and on their cultural differences. The concept of cultural (difference) is used to illustrate traditions and customs. The determinants of (cultural) difference have emerged in the interviews and discussions and are thus defined by the respondents. This approach emphasizes the importance of social boundaries and "edges of difference" (Broadbridge, 2001, p. 35) through which the community negotiates the deviance and employs inclusive and exclusive practices.

"It´s not allowed here", negotiating deviance in Thornton

In this section I will discuss how the new population groups have influenced the 'Thornton way of life'. Have they brought their cultural heritance with them, and how do diverse groups negotiate the different customs and values? This discussion shows the forms and agents of social control in Thornton: who and what determines and controls the proper way of being in Thornton.

Thornton was generally characterized as an inbound, quiet and peaceful neighbourhood. Residents from different race groups understood/recognized this description differently, though. For the white residents and most of the coloured, it represented a desired bearing. While all white respondents found quiet and peaceful character as positive, the black African respondents considered it undesirable. Coloured respondents had a mixed approach. Some of them found Thornton too private and conservative, and they would have liked to engage and get together with their neighbours more casually. Even if they found the life style too inbound and not very much of their own, they had adopted the same life style. A common characterization was presented by a coloured couple, who identified Thornton as nice and clean. They went jogging in Thornton, and saw people walking their dogs and families go cycling. However, they were mostly interested in leading an individual life style, not being so interested in the neighbours, and not wanting the neighbours to interfere in their lives.

The clearest judgement of deviant behaviour was focused on the imported “township” -culture. The black African residents had moved to Thornton from townships and had brought some of their culture with them. This caused wide disapproval among the non-black African residents, both the white and the coloured. The noisy lifestyle of black African people was explained due to their big families, and large and close communities. The township life style was very much collective and happened in public. Privacy was considered to be different compared to the middle-class way of life and suburban lifestyle.

The most striking distraction from conformity was caused by party manners, big crowd gatherings and making noise. Black African people were blamed for having noisy parties that lasted late into the night. For example, the local wedding took a week, instead of the “norm” of one day. The neighbours were informed of the coming event, but the length of the wedding-related parties and meetings was unexpected and caused anxiety.

Image 15. The Heritage Day Party in Thornton, 24 September 2016.

Image 16. The Heritage Day Party in Thornton, 24 September 2016.

The custom of slaughtering animals at black African parties was considered unsuitable in Thornton. In traditional rural areas and black African townships, the custom of slaughtering cattle has been seen as a fundamental aspect of social and spiritual life. As Ballard (2010) has analysed, after this tradition was exposed to middle-class urban population from the 1990s onwards, it has caused contradictions between the African heritance and the white/coloured culture. The established middle class has condemned the custom, especially in the suburban areas, while black African people have seen it as their right to express their culture, and thus an entitlement of full citizenship and the free use of space (Ballard, 2010, p. 1969-1087).

> *"They were having some festival and the pig or the goat or the sheep came in and they were…. They slaughtered that there at the home….it´s not allowed in our suburb." (w f)*

In addition to the tradition of animal slaughter, there were other cultural differences that caused rejection. Confusing was the way black African people used to talk loudly when walking in the streets. For white people it represented disorderly noisiness, for black African people it was a way of showing that there were no secrets or tattling going on.

Expressions of rejection were often strict. A commonly-used phrase was the "bad elements" that signified the new and unknown customs that were either intruding into Thornton or residents were afraid of that happening in the near future. The expression of "bad elements" was predominantly used by the older people, coloured and white. For working age people, the disruptive activity and behaviour fell under "riffraff". Unwelcomed features and uncertainty causing bad elements were for example the shebeens. There were no shebeens in Thornton, but some residents were afraid of them spreading to the new Conradie development. The 'riffraff' was involved in the drug dealing that might take place in social housing complexes, or spread from the Viking Way shack village, where the 'riffraff' was in the core of businesses.

> *"You always find people walking around and stuff like that...funny stuff going on there."*

The change of Thornton street views worried the older white people in particular. According to the long-time residents, the present Thornton was less neat, and gardens poorly kept compared to what Thornton had been 'in the old days'. The vision that there was rubbish in the streets, green areas and walkways, and no one bothered to collect it, was common. The overall negligence concerning the convenience of the neighbourhood had decreased. People did not take care of their front yards like before. In addition, the street views and overall comfort was disturbed by the loiterers that hung around in the neighbourhood.

In Thornton, the family structures were mainly built around the nuclear family, even though there was a growing number of extended families moving in. These families were Muslims, who had many generations living under the same roof. The black Africans in Thornton lived with their nuclear families, in contrary to township extended communities and the wider definition of the family.

"But everyone´s different." Negotiating cultural differences

Some of the notions that residents expressed were not clearly judging unaccustomed behaviours, but it was more like how the difference in everyday practices had been paid attention to. As Spinks has pointed out in her study on the post-apartheid city (2001, p. 11), inclusivity of difference does not require a romantic vision of suburban harmony. Yet, in Thornton, there was an obvious need to negotiate the new surroundings and changed suburban ambience. A stranger was still a stranger, even though people tried not to condemn the difference in life styles.

A white resident brought up what she understood as being strange habits. Black children shared the room, even the bed, even though there were space and enough bedrooms in the house. Because *"that´s their way of doing things"*. Her approach was not precisely judgmental, but just voicing the difference that she could not quite understand.

A white male explained what he had learnt of the manners of black African people. He described the difference of 'who goes first' between the African and his own way of living: *"The black man goes first, we let the woman go first. It is a safety issue for them, for us it is about good manners."*

The differences between the everyday practices and customs of the coloured and the white people were only few. A coloured resident paid attention to different customs of treating a party: When a coloured person gives a party, the one who invites, treats everything. At white parties, everyone must bring something, at least to bring their own drinks.

When the same resident was then asked if there is any difference in black African party manners, she said she has never been to one, so she does not exactly know, but:

> *"They love their music, they eat different foods." (c f)*

Most acknowledgements voiced the otherness of black African people. The overall lifestyle and values were different, families were considered big, music and food and language were different from one´s own.

Prejudice around religion

The linkage between religious orientation and prejudice appeared as complex. On the other hand, there was tolerance of difference, and then, there was discernible fundamentalism causing prejudice and non-tolerance. The impact of the change of religious affiliations in Thornton leads one to agree with the claim that greater religiosity is related to prejudice and intolerance (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010, p. 1043). In Thornton, instead of being only related to greater compassion, religion seemed also to be a cause of stronger prejudiced thinking.

There was tension between Christians and Muslims. The distrust between the religions was apparent, even though it was difficult to verbalize it. Religion divided people the same way as the race did. In several interviews, religion aroused more divisions than race. Thornton was often characterized as a Christian neighbourhood, and the growing in-movement of Muslim

families caused anxiety. One resident explained that it is more distracting having a neighbour with a different religion than a neighbour with a different race.

The distrust between the religions happened in some abstract sphere, and it was hard to catch the real reason for suspicion. The building of a new Mosque drew much attention. The praying times and loudspeaker call to the prayers were a big concern. The impact of the Friday services on traffic caused worries. Other tangible reasons for anxiety and mistrust was seldom voiced, though.

> *"A huge mosque doesn´t fit in Thornton". (c f)*

Religion got lot of attention when people described their neighbourhood and the change that had taken place. When people were asked to describe about the overall change in their neighbourhood and neighbours, definition of the religion was raised in most interviews. A Christian respondent described the close neighbours around their house. There had been a Muslim family living next door, but *"the man got involved in not so good activities"*. This family had had to move out, and now there were *"good people living there"*, a Christian family. At the same time, the respondent showed genuine benevolence towards all people and cherished the ending of apartheid oppression and inequality.

> *"They are fine, they´re Christian people, so they are not Muslim". (w f)*
>
> *"We are very aware of the fact that the Muslim people are moving in here now." (w m)*
>
> *"Muslim values are different". (w m)*

Muslim families had built big houses. In practice, this has meant renovating and building extensions to existing houses. Usually the extensions were built upwards, making one storey houses into two storey houses. It was explained that Muslims have bigger families, and many generations live under the same roof. Thus, they needed more space and more bedrooms.

Most Christian respondents emphasized how good people their Muslim neighbours are. Even though the conclusion was in most cases a statement against Thornton becoming a more non-Christian community. The good relationships with the close neighbours did not facilitate broader understanding and acceptance.

There were some stronger expressions of prejudice against Muslims. Some of them were based on personal experience. Some were based on stereotypes and second-hand information. A

white resident explained that coloured people had previously lived in the areas where Muslims had had their Mosques, and they did not want that in their present neighbourhood. One respondent referred to the story of his black African housekeeper, who refused to work for a Muslim. This was because the Muslims treated their employees as slaves. Muslim values were defined as being different and not appropriate in Christian culture. Muslims did not shake hands with women, and they did not come together in public meeting places like the Flamboyant café.

Even though Muslims excluded themselves from some local communities, they shared many, -most- values and middle-class life style with the white and coloured residents. They kept their properties in good condition, they had good professions, paid their bills, and they were interested in their children´s education. But something kept them from fully integrating in the community, and they applied self-exclusionary practices in their socializing and building social networks. A coloured respondent disapproved of the way Muslims favoured Muslims when renting or selling their houses. The respondent pointed out that there shouldn´t be any discrimination, but their neighbouring Muslim property owner always rented his house to a Muslim.

The distrust was mutual. The Muslim community was active internally, but somehow excluded itself from the other communities in Thornton. Some Muslim residents had a tendency of self-exclusive thinking. This was based on perceived prejudice from the Christian residents´ side. The complicated interaction in Thornton Ratepayers and Residents Association had caused Muslim members voicing their concern about *"anti-Muslim elements in Thornton Ratepayers´ Association"*. The mutual suspicion and the subsequent self-exclusive behaviours confirmed the spiral of hesitant interaction and then preventing neighbourhood integration.

Who´s racist?

It is common for South Africans to label other race groups as racist. (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010, p. 281-282; Reconciliation Barometer, 2015, p. 10-11; Kornegay, 2005). Against the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) claim that, the more interracial contact there is, the less prejudice between different groups, the trajectory in Cape Town proves different. The growing number of regular interracial contacts have not reduced the interracial stereotyping and labelling other races racist. For example, white and black African people describe coloured people in Western Cape as being racist more commonly than those in other parts of the country. (Mahlati, 2018; Muyeba & Seekings, 2011, p. 659; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; p. 281-282). There is a common

understanding that the other racial groups dislike one´s own group (Muyeba & Seekings, 2011, p. 660).

In a national level survey, over 60% of the respondents reported having experienced racism in their lives. Whereas about 35% report that they have never experienced racism, 12% report that they experience racism most of the time (RB 2015, p. 10-11). The confronting of the racist behaviour is found to be difficult despite its occurrence within the context of familiar or unfamiliar people (Fisher, 2018; RB 2015, p. 12).

In Thornton, racist talk and behaviour induces a few notions. A white resident called black Africans the biggest racists. Their use of 'the race-card' against white people provoked anxiety. This "reverse racism" (Kornegay, 2005, p. 12) was applied when something non-flattering was said about non-white people. A white respondent pointed out that the race card was used in such occasions when the race did not have any significance. She gave an example of a white person commenting on untidiness or littering on the street, following which he/she was labelled as a racist. The black African point of view was different. They talked about the degrading language and behaviour they had experienced. Black women had experienced insulting talk like been called "kaffir"[24] or baboon. The use of strange language in presence of a person who cannot understand it, was also perceived as being offensive. Some respondents pointed out that there was still lot of racism at schools and at work.

Summing up the restrains on social cohesion

This category discussed the preventive attitudes for building interracial integration and social cohesion in Thornton. It addressed the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping and social control.

Most of the prejudice was based on group perceptions and the society-level stereotyping instead of personal experiences. Group identities and group images were key determinants when relating to the other race groups. Personal contacts in Thornton diminished the prejudice and stereotyping in individual life sphere and within nearby contacts, but these experiences did not generate interest to wider or deeper interaction. The close neighbours were usually considered to be good people, but the 'goodness' among the nearby residents did not generate a more benevolent understanding of the cultural differences in general.

[24] Kaffir is a strongly derogatory term, used in colonial period referring to black people, and adopted during apartheid for oppressive and condescending language. At present, it is crime injuria, crime under South African common law, defined to be the act of "unlawfully, intentionally and seriously impairing the dignity of another".

Prejudiced statements were most openly expressed by the older white people, meanwhile the younger white and non-white residents expressed fewer and more moderate descriptions of the race groups other than their own. Black African people considered Thornton as being unfriendly and unwelcoming as a whole, but they were not making race-specific characterizations on other groups or their neighbours.

Social control materialized in two ways. First was the desire to keep things as they had been 'in the old days'. This desire was voiced among the long-time white residents. They wanted to keep their Thornton as it had been before. The tangible forms of social control related to good old days was easy to track, and the statements were uncomplicated to define. The second form of social control was the middle-class way of life as self-evident. This meant that there was a certain 'cultural norm' that all people in a suburb should follow. The unwritten rules of 'normal' were, consciously or unconsciously, followed by most of the new residents, too. Divergent elements that distracted the equilibrium were thus given attention by both the old and most of the new residents. The most commonly mentioned distraction from the norm was the noisy life style and especially noisy parties that black African people held.

The predominant norm, the middle-class life style, had been a historical continuum following the way of life in Thornton during 'for whites only' -years. The new residents recognized and knew the norm and the requirements of the 'proper' behaviour, even though they were not necessarily open minded to them or willing to adapt. Subsequently, following the middle-class suburban way of life reduced the prejudiced views of the old establishment towards the newer residents.

The ambiguous explanations for not being comfortable with the people of another race were frequent. There was an atmosphere of undefined unfamiliarity that 'just was there', and subtle ways of being distant divided people. It was not aggressive, and not especially based on personal experienced or personally practiced prejudice. There were few, but not especially many, exact reasons for not relating to each other, but the mental distance and uneasiness were undoubtedly present.

Religion created anxiety, which was also based on unspecified discomfort. Thornton had traditionally been a Christian neighbourhood, and some of the Christian population had it difficult to adapt to the change of religious distribution. The Muslim community felt simultaneously offended and entitled to belong, which troubled the attachment to Thornton.

8.6 Non-involvement and self-exclusive practices

The fourth category discusses cohesion preventing behavioural manifestations, reluctant and uninterested approaches towards interracial interaction and building the neighbourhood community. This category talks about the individual practices of unwillingness to integrate and withdrawal from integration, and it addresses the concepts of non-involvement and self-exclusion. The residents´ non-involvement/non-engagement had varied rationales, some of which were explained through ambiance of apathy in Thornton, some through the life style in which home was just a place to sleep, and the life and social contacts were not neighbourhood-related. Self-exclusion was an active way of not being involved. In Thornton it built on prejudice, either experienced or imagined.

There was no physically violent or oppressive behaviour among the Thornton residents. The negative point of view towards the other did not generate physical or proved verbal outbursts caused by or targeted to the neighbours specifically. Only one notice from specifically prejudice-generated behaviour between the neighbours arose in the fieldwork interviews. When a black African family with small children had had an early night party, the noise in their garden led the neighbours calling the police.

Other straight aggressive or micro-aggressive (Meghji, 2017; Khunou, 2015, ch. 4) conducts was not reported or openly discussed, and thus clear conclusions such as individual behaviour of inter-racial avoidance or rejection cannot be made. However, the reported prejudiced statements and imprecise uneasiness to connect with residents from race groups other than one´s own indicate both some experienced and espoused previous aggressions, which in turn caused withdrawal from interaction.

Thus, the behavioural manifestations of cohesion preventing attitudes apply to the withdrawal from the interracial and other community activity, and individual inward and in-racially oriented social networking.

Non-involvement

The majority of the interviewees said they had not been involved in gatherings or communities in Thornton. If the religious communities are excluded, the non-involvement was considerably higher. “Communities” are here understood to denote formal meetings and associations. Gatherings include unformal meetings, parties and get-togethers in one´s own or somebody

else´s home. Some of the residents had been involved in civic associations earlier, but for various reasons were not active any more.

Non-involvement was explained through two factors, suburban lifestyle and common apathy. Suburban lifestyle, "bowling alone" (Putnam, 1995), was centred around the working and school days, running nuclear family in the evenings, spending leisure either time at home or outside your own neighbourhood. Most social networks were not spatially defined and not neighbourhood based.

The majority of respondents said their social contacts and friendship links were outside Thornton. The biggest group that had no social contacts in Thornton was the black African group. A black African female said that she did not have friends in Thornton, and she did not know any communities in Thornton. She knew her neighbours, but she did not socialize with them.

> *"The people is very for themselves, very private, because people won´t go and visit…stuff like that, or the neighbours they won´t come over." (c f)*

Residents´ professional lives were outside Thornton, and children went to school in other areas. Social contacts were born in these environments. Thornton also lacked leisure time activities, and there were no places to meet other people. For the active age people, social communities were not place based. And for many the socializing happened through social media and the internet. A white male encapsulated the present norm of socializing: *"The community is not based around the suburb"*.

Thornton residents have been globalized. Steven Robins (2003, p. 243) talks about "global citizens in local spaces", and how the neoliberal states and the "West" represent the modernity that function as market place of identities and instant communities. Individuals build their personal identities in these globally and locally intertwined environments, shopping and choosing group memberships, associations and solidarities suitable to their personal choice. Some residents that were not involved in Thornton through friendship links or communities, went jogging in the streets in Thornton, or walked their dogs in the green areas. They used the space for their individual purposes. Socializing through social media was usual. Those leading independent and non-involving life styles often followed the local Facebook pages. People were most interested in crime alerts and security matters.

The suburban lifestyle was centred around driving private cars. Most households had at least one car, and all travelling and taking care of any household transport was based on having a car. This confirmed the independent and self-sufficient life style.

Apathy as a definition of the mentality in Thornton rose on many occasions. In addition to individual inward lifestyles, the apathy could be explained through the continuous change that Thornton and its old and newer residents had faced during the past two decades. The continuous flux and adaption to the new and the unknown had burdened the residents´ capability of adjusting to such an extent that the negotiating the world outside one´s individual life sphere was regarded too confusing.

Thornton was in a phase in which the old and new were mixed; the way it used to be and the way of ongoing change. The builders of the old Thornton were resigning and giving up the lead to the next generation. Yet, the next generation was in flux. The newer residents so far had adapted to old Thornton, but the negotiation between nurturing the old or building something new was still underway. To settle down and to make the area look like your own takes time.

Self-exclusion

"I control my space."

The racially biased behavioural orientation for non-involvement displays predominantly self-exclusive habits and manners. Self-exclusion presents an active way of not being involved. With this I mean that some residents consciously chose to keep out. Self-exclusion differs from apathy, because it contains deliberate decisions and rationales. Deriving from the confusion between old and new social environments, the avoidance of interaction and contacts became a tool to administer and control the personal sphere of life and manage strange values and customs. Self-exclusion in Thornton corresponds with Bollen & Hoyle´s (1990) argumentation that cohesion is conditioned with individual members´ perceptions to their own cohesion to a particular group.

The expectations and presumptions of the prejudice and stereotyping towards oneself contributed to self-exclusion from the community and social interaction. The spiral of exclusion was produced and reproduced by society-level stereotyping and thus following self-exclusive practices. In Thornton, the racial boundaries were retained due to this spiral of exclusion and self-exclusion.

Self-exclusion was both the cause and the consequence of the sense of belonging and not belonging. When the new residents´ preconception of their acceptance in the new neighbourhood was sceptical, the self-exclusion worked as self-defence against potential disapproval. These preconceptions and suspicions were based on previous racial group identities and the assumptions of the other groups. There were both one´s own prejudice against the others and the imagined or experienced prejudice towards oneself from the other groups. If the person then had experienced any suspicion or negative behaviour from neighbours from another race group, it confirmed the preconceptions and previous doubts. When the new residents had lacked the feeling of getting into Thornton social networks, they had compensated for this disconnection by turning inwards.

> *"No one has actually said hey you know what, we have this thing here, would you like to join, would you be interested…where I come from people would invite you to do things with them." (b f)*

It was difficult to separate some of the self-exclusive reasoning, whether it came from real or imagined prejudice. The Muslim community members felt they were not welcomed in Thornton and especially in the TRRA. This was because of the opposition to building a new mosque in Thornton. However, the Muslim members were welcomed onto the TRRA committee and the Muslim Community issue was treated overwhelmingly delicately in the general and committee meetings. However, the feeling of not being welcomed led to self-exclusion of Muslims members from the work of TRRA.

In some discussions, the reasons for the self-exclusive demeanour were not clearly stated, but the lack of interest in getting involved was obvious. When personal experiences were combined with the acknowledgement of group identities and apartheid history, the integration seemed fragile. Despite the spatial freedom, the social exclusion has been sustained through the lack of access to common narratives, unwritten rules and uses of space. (Madanipour, 2011, p. 193). Non-subtle gestures and language signalled that one is not welcome, and one does not belong.

> *"Because you don´t know how they feel about you, and you can sense the signals that you are not wanted here." (b f)*

> *"People in Thornton are unfriendly and inbound, I don´t feel like socializing with them." (b f)*

"White people here don´t care about me, and I don´t care about them." (b f)

There were two groups that spoke about and showed a clear tendency of self-exclusion, the black African and the Muslim. Some of the self-exclusion was built on prejudice, either experienced or imagined. A black African interviewee had experienced expressions of superiority from a coloured person. Thus, he was wary of letting people from other backgrounds close to his personal sphere: *"I control my space"*.

Summing up cohesion preventing behaviour

In this category, the focus was on cohesion preventing behavioural expressions. It talked about the residents´ uninterest in building integration. This uninterest was explained through two factors, non-involvement and self-exclusion.

Non-involvement was explained through two aspects. The first was the suburban way of life. Working outside your neighbourhood and leading an individual life style in leisure time disconnected residents from their own neighbourhood. The social contacts were spread all over, and the family life at home was inward oriented. The second aspect was the general apathy that reflected the area. While the older residents had already resigned from the community building efforts, the younger and newer residents were not interested or willing to take part in neighbourhood-based -issues.

In addition to non-engagement, the self-exclusion burdened integration. Self-exclusion differed from non-engagement because it included the conscious choice of withdrawing one´s self from social networks. It was mainly based on imagined or/and experienced prejudice. Especially some black Africans had the impression that they were not welcome in Thornton and had already produced self-exclusive behaviour before trying to socialize with non-black African neighbours. In this sense, self-exclusion became a self-reproducing spiral. When people did not feel themselves welcome, they intentionally dropped out from the community and turned inwards. The Muslim group also excluded itself from some social networks. Their preconception was based on the fact that Thornton had been a mainly Christian area, on the conflicting discussion on the mosque -project and consequently, on the impression that the Muslims were not welcome.

8.7 Drawing together: residents´ attitudes and behavioural manifestations related to them

This chapter was an analysis of social cohesion and interracial integration through the attitudes and mindsets and their behavioural manifestations. Cohesion contributing and preventing attitudes and mindsets, and to these attitudes and mindsets related behaviour were approached through the set of concepts introduced in the theoretical frame. This dimension explored the affirmative concepts of tolerance, acceptance and trust; and the negative attributes of prejudice, stereotyping and social control. Individual level activity for promoting neighbourly relations and neighbourhood integration were explored through the practical implementations of building and nurturing interracial contacts, and on the other hand, through the implementation of withdrawing from the interaction. The focus has been on racially identified differences. Gender as a variable has been acknowledged, but a difference between genders cannot be specified. The range of ages was acknowledged at a general level. The limited number of young people (under 25) means that the focus was on adults aged between 25 and 80 years of age. The differences in attitudes can be shown between working-age people and older people.

The transformation of society was generally accepted and mostly cherished. All the people contacted supported equality of opportunity, which involved professional and residential racial mixing. There was a good amount of reconciliation talk and openness towards the other. The new society and mixed neighbourhood were welcomed. Race was explained as being insignificant, and “we see no colour” recurred regularly. Close neighbours were described as good people despite their race.

Tolerance of the different customs and acceptance of transformation was common. The acceptance was to some extent artificial and happened in a limited social fabric. Conditional acceptance was derived from the common values and established way of life. Tolerance and acceptance of different customs were especially tested in social gatherings, party manners and overall level of noise that different population groups tended to make.

There was a discontinuation between contributing attitudes and their behavioural manifestation. There was an apparent “principle-implementation gap” (Schuman et al., 1997), and widely espoused tolerance and cherishing the integration verbally did not automatically translate to friendship links or closer neighbourly relations. The openness towards other than one´s own race and the dissimilar customs did not lead to sharing leisure time activities with another family or individual or building closer socializing or friendships.

There was openness towards other race groups, but it did not translate into mundane practices. Even if the neighbours from other race groups were taken as the norm, there was some unspecified uneasiness to get closely involved in with people from other than your own race group. Churches united different races, and people made friends in their religious communities. However, many people had their religious communities outside Thornton, and the potential interracial integration there was not generated in Thornton. Closer socializing across the street and across the race was not common. Neighbours chatted naturally with their neighbours with all colours but sitting down together to have dinner at home or elsewhere did not happen. Most social contacts were outside Thornton. This was because people had their professional lives outside Thornton, there were no places for get together in Thornton, and people spent their leisure time in individual activities and inside the family.

All population groups expressed that they did not mix across the race regularly outside their professional lives. Even though the interracial professional contacts were perceived as the norm, the closer social relationships were mainly in-racially biased. With few sporadic exceptions all people had their closest social networks inside their own race group. This refers to "ingroup favouritism" defined by Dovidio & Gaertner (2010, p. 1084) in explaining intergroup biased attitudes and behaviour. In Thornton, the everyday habits and manners of the other group were assumed to be somewhat different, and the cultural or the way of life -gap was considered to build obstacles for closer socializing across the race. In addition to one´s own in-racial orientation, residents also considered this bearing to be the norm in other groups A common understanding was that people from the same background socialize with each other. In addition, except the older white people, the social networks for most residents were not neighbourhood based, and the socializing followed other than geographical logic. The professional contacts across the race groups might have been mundane, but the deeper interest in closer socializing or building a cohesive neighbourhood were missing.

People were inclined to keep their distance from other race groups and their customs. Prejudice gained lot of space in speech and in describing neighbours of another race. Most of the prejudiced characterizations and labelling arose from the impersonal experience of another race group. It seemed that an individual need to make sense of the changes in one´s life and surroundings engendered stereotyped categorizations to organize and classify the unaccustomed. Prejudice was mainly built on the stereotypes based on common knowledge and racially determined awareness. The characterizations of the close neighbours of whatever

colour as being “good people” did not generate less stereotyping of the other race groups in wider understanding and discussion.

The most straightforward racially defined characterizations were expressed by older white people. The black African residents expressed prejudice towards the neighbourhood as a whole, not towards any specific race group. The main confrontation occurred between black African and non-black African groups. White and coloured people showed less prejudice towards each other, meanwhile they showed strong prejudice and verbally formulated social control towards black African people.

However, it was explicit that the cohesion-preventing attitudes, prejudice and stereotyping, did not translate into tangible hostile activity. Despite the strict judgement of the deviant customs of other groups, the everyday behaviour and interactions with neighbours of different colours did not contain verbal or other forms of disturbance. The commonly applied behavioural manifestations were withdrawal and turning inward.

Black African and Muslim residents demonstrated a strong tendency of self-exclusion, as a result of experienced or imagined prejudice. This confirms Yzerbyt´s and Demoulin´s argumentation that negative expectations and fear of rejection leads to discomfort in real or anticipated interaction with outgroup members (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010, p. 1046). In particular, some Muslim residents had an ambivalent or contradictory approach towards socializing and building their networks in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, they were very open and active in their efforts to increase community cohesion in Thornton, while at the same time they were very much inward oriented within their own religious community.

The most common behavioural manifestation in Thornton was non-engagement that built on passivity. Thornton was described as an apathetic community, and the residents were showing no interest in their neighbourhood or neighbourhood relations. The passivity was not a race-based issue.

The combining characteristic was the same socioeconomic position and thus, a similar life style with similar interests concerning the neighbourhood and common values in life. The attitudes towards the other were judged according to following established norms. The acceptance of people of another colour was conditional and dependent on the suitability of the habits and customs.

The establishment of the proper life style in Thornton emerged from the "good white" (Teppo, 2004) middle-class life style. The norm of the proper way of living was the same as it had been since 1950s, the whiteness producing the accustomed norm. In general, the attitudes towards the other built on how one adapted to the norm. The process of adaption varied between the non-white race groups. Accepting the whitewashing of values and customs had already been the drive and aspiration, and also an applied way of life, for many Cape Town coloureds during apartheid (Adhikari, 2005). Hence, moving into a previously white area was understood as an achievement, and the requirement of adopting the expected way of life was taken for granted, and had already been accustomed way of life for many. Black African residents encountered the Thornton tradition less comfortably. The contradiction between the black African township culture (see: Southall, 2016; Khunou 2015; Krige, 2015; Ballard, 2010, 2005; Ross, 2005; Salo, 2005) and the new neighbourhood social practices had required more personal negotiating, intellectual elaborating and willingness to adaption. Many black African residents in Thornton had adapted to the expected way of life, even though the sense of disconnection and isolation distressed them. The apartheid inequality and oppression had left an imprint on how black African people negotiated the middle-class lifestyle which came with the benchmark of whiteness. The sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and its community was related to being included in the value and norm constructs there. The sense of black African residents not belonging in Thornton materialized in the deliberations of both the black African and non-black African residents.

The attitudes of the residents created a paradoxical relationship between reconciliation narratives and everyday social realities. The goodwill in speech did not seem to translate to deeper integration and interracial cohesion. Even though it was not all about the race, it was much more about race after all.

(C) BEYOND THE RAINBOW

Chapter 9

Drawing together

This thesis set out to study how social cohesion in the post-apartheid neighbourhood of Thornton in Cape Town is conditioned by race. The aim was to analyse whether and how the social and spatial practices and social interaction in the contemporary neighbourhood fit into wider debates on the Rainbow Nation ideal and integration within the diversity.

It felt challenging at first to formulate the research question to characterize the combination of post-apartheid residential structures, legacy of apartheid racial boundaries and cultural differences, a neighbourhood which, at the same time, was an anomaly and an average compared to its surrounding city, and the social interaction between people that have not used to live together. The decision to respond to the challenge and to approach the subject was to use the concept of social cohesion. Neighbourhood level social cohesion was considered to demonstrate the state of society´s integration and interracial relationships in a small scale. It reflects the theme of the Rainbow Nation, which emphasizes unity in diversity.

Social cohesion has not been considered as having a culmination point or a desired state of fulfilment. Instead, it displays an overall and general state of the sense of belonging, we-feeling and unity. In addition, this study has not valued/judged whether neighbourhood social cohesion is essential or important for making a good life or a good society. The background paradigm and the use of the concept has been rationalized and drawn from the idea of analysing the "success" of the post-apartheid nation building project. This approach I find at the same time a strength and a weakness in my study.

I chose to approach neighbourhood state of cohesion not as a problem to be resolved, not as a goal to be achieved, but more like a contemporary state to be discovered and reality to be opened up. I analysed social cohesion through social and spatial practices and through residents´ attitudes and brought race into this frame. Another approach could have been to concentrate more on outside pressures and challenges and their impact on generating

neighbourhood civic engagement. This approach would have focused more on social capital, networking and working for common purposes, but leaving individual attitudes and mindsets in the background. While my research design got its incentive from the Rainbow Nation, the using the social capital approach would have limited my analysis. However, using race group-based customs of community activity as a starting point would have produced valuable knowledge for developing and enhancing community cooperation and integration in South African neighbourhoods.

Theoretically this study has drawn from urban sociology and socio-spatial integration. However, to avoid being disciplined by the discipline guided the initial research design and formulating the research questions. By analysing the diverse cultural structures in shared spaces, this study addressed the question, whether the physical proximity produces interracial social integration. My results correspond with earlier research conducted in the USA[25], Europe[26], and South Africa[27]: The residential proximity does not automatically generate closer social integration and deeper social interaction between different cultural, ethnic or race groups.

In the South African context, this study addressed the previous research on the importance of race in social interaction and social contacts in present South Africa[28]. The previous research asserts that growing interaction and contacts in mundane professional life produce common everyday contacts across the race. However, the previous research[29] also points out that common professional contacts across race do not generate closer interracial socializing outside the professional interaction. My study confirms this argument.

My study departs from this previous research in its research design and subject of the study, and thus, it brings a new perspective to integration studies. While my study analysed a middle -class neighbourhood, the previous research has concentrated on poorer areas[30]. While my study analysed a spontaneously mixed neighbourhood, the previous research has concentrated on areas where the mixing has happened through housing policy and public operations.

[25] Ruiz-Tagle, 2013; Saff, 2010; Ellen, 2000.
[26] Malik, 2015; Musterd, 2003; Allen & Cars, 2001.
[27] Ballard, 2010, 2005; Lemanski, 2006b; Oldfield, 2004; Broadbridge, 2001; Saff, 1998.
[28] Erasmus, 2017; Scheidegger, 2014; Seekings, 2008; Lemanski, 2006a,b; Soudien, 2004, Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Broadbridge, 2001.
[29] David et al., 2018; Southall, 2016; Erasmus, 2010; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Posel, 2005.
[30] Pirie, 2015; Muyeba & Seekings, 2011; Oldfield, 2004.

The class as a combining determinant, as well as being a separating determinant, addresses the relationship between race and class. While poorer and lower-income classes are almost exclusively non-white, and mainly black African, the middle and wealthy classes are mixed. However, almost all white people belong to the middle or upper classes. The relationship between race and class has engendered studies on themes of income distribution, equality in education, living conditions and opportunities for better housing. The focus on these studies has been to show the persistent inequality in socio-economic standards, and the salient differentiation between previously privileged and previously discriminated population groups.

My study argues that there is a contradiction in how the class integrates people across race in neighbourhood surroundings. The locally produced practices both contribute and prevent the interracial social integration despite the class being the same among the residents. Race creates differences inside the class.

Chapter 10

Neighbourhood cohesion is not about race; yet, it is about race

In Thornton, there was a paradoxical relationship between segregation and integration. Thornton looked like a micro-scale Rainbow Nation. The racial distribution demonstrated a well-mixed neighbourhood, with people from every race group. However, the constructions of social interaction, community constitution, use of public space and residents´ mindsets produced contradictory signals for attaining social cohesion and an inclusive community. Race became both significant and insignificant when explaining and interpreting social cohesion.

As stated by the South African scholar Chirevo Kwenda (2003, p. 67-69), path to social cohesion and reconciliation materialises through cultural justice and equality. The culture represents the way people live their lives and how these identifiable ways of life come back to define the people who generate and preserve them. The respectful co-existence of diversity means recognition of what other people regard as important. The ideal of legitimate diversity (see Farmer, 1965; Young, 1990, p. 237, Smith, 2004, p. 28) of cultures and traditions accommodates both the difference and equality. However, in real life, in this case in the neighbourhood circumstances, the equality of cultures becomes a complex social setting. According to the "qualified inclusion" (Ballard, 2005, p. 83), the 'power of being native' is dominant, and the newcomers have to adapt to this "established-ness" (Ballard, 2005, p. 70) to be qualified and to fit in. The privileged relationship to space is commonly understood as who got here first, and in Thornton it was the white people. Their previous privileged access to space had made white people 'natives' and the 'legitimate owners' of the dominant culture. The previously disadvantaged groups followed this logic, even though they might have felt uncomfortable with it: If you cannot adapt, you withdraw, but you comply with the established codes of conduct.

Even though Thornton had become mixed spontaneously, there was no indication that living in racially mixed surroundings was a reason or an incentive for moving to or staying in Thornton. The motivation to move to and to stay in Thornton was built on how residents negotiated between their own ideals and their material opportunities, the relationship between

"material conditions and ideational constructs" (Ross, 2005, p. 631). While the increasing economic resources had enabled coloured and black African people to buy into Thornton, at the same time some of the white residents had been unwilling or economically unable to buy away from Thornton. The contradiction between the economic options was paradoxical and created dissatisfying results for different parties. Even though the Thornton village atmosphere was commonly cherished, neither black African nor white people seemed to feel that Thornton was just what they would have desired for a home neighbourhood. Thornton had fallen in a situation between the past and the future, the continuous change disrupting the previous structures and not enabling new stable forms to be established.

Negotiating individual and collective identities was increasingly being restructured around the middle-class way of life; however, race remained an important factor in residents´ apprehension of themselves and each other. The persistency of social categories and self-categorization was salient. In addition to race and class, religion had brought a new dimension to the recent discourse in Thornton.

Yet another paradox was that residents in Thornton had social networks around the world across the nationalities, races, ethnicities, religions and languages, but at closer proximity their social networking was much more limited to what comes to social and somatic attributes of their counterparts.

Next, I will substantiate my arguments in more detail by going through the main results of this study, in accordance with the title of this thesis, race conditioning neighbourhood cohesion. Finally, I will introduce the wider discourses which my study contributes to and suggest themes for further research.

10.1 It is not about race….

My main argument is that the Thornton established way of life, the white middle-class life style, exceeded all other determinants when explaining social cohesion. Even though the white population made up less than 19% of the total population, their values, traditions and cultures were salient and strong. When the newcomers adapted to the Thornton way of life, race had no significance. The complexity arose when the newcomers were either not willing or able to adopt the common values and "proper" way of being. The paradox of integration in Thornton

was that Thornton either 'whitewashed' the newcomers or the newcomers excluded themselves from Thornton community.

The middle-class life style has been family oriented, turning inward and leading a "not-noisy" life. Those who did not have their own house or a property yet, had a desire for it. The common interests were to maintain and upgrade the house and garden, getting good education for their children, and having a functioning infrastructure and effective service delivery. Most families had a car, many had two. Even though family life was inward-oriented, the cosy atmosphere and sense of community in the neighbourhood was valued. The white and coloured race groups shared all these values, and their co-living was smooth and colourblind. In this sense, the coloured residents had been whitewashed. Their everyday practices and customs may be identified as "borrowed traditions" (Adhikari, 2009), but in any case, the contemporary cultural conformity contributed to social cohesion. Also, the Muslim population, despite their racial background being Asian or coloured, agreed with the principles and values of the established life style. While the effect of religion on social cohesion was another complex issue, it is discussed separately.

The common anxieties, crime, uncontrollable external traffic, and the new housing development, united people. Despite the race, age or form of living, residents expressed their concerns around these issues. People shared the same values when claiming the unbearable number of cars in the narrow streets in their neighbourhood, or when acknowledging the need to prevent the growth of crime in Thornton. However, these concerns did not generate to general activity and civic engagement. The non-involvement and lack of interest was common in all race groups. The busy professional life added to inward-orientation, and privacy of leisure time made neighbourhood-based interaction become much less important. The overall apathy which labels the neighbourhood, was not a racially determined practice.

The everyday lives of the families in all race groups took place either inside the home or outside Thornton, which made the area look like a sleepy and empty suburb. The environment for developing or maintaining weak ties was desolate. The deterioration of public properties, the lack of parks and comfortable open-to-all areas added to the cohesion-preventing constructs. The public and semi-public institutions, such as the Thornton Primary School or SOS -Village were disconnected islands inside the neighbourhood and did not function as platforms for cohesive environments and activity.

Religion was a cause of contradiction that was not race based. The suspicion between the Christian and Muslim residents was at the same time very much present and clear, but somehow obscure and being left unexplained. For many residents, race was not the issue, but religion was. There was a contradiction between the Thornton tradition and the new Muslim neighbours. While the Muslim families followed middle-class values in all other aspects, the religious difference caused a significant obstacle in attaining cohesion.

10.2 … but it is about race

When analysing the sense of belonging and place attachment, the participation in the neighbourhood communities was recognized as an important factor. In Thornton, participation and community activity were strongly related to race. The cooperation and integration around the local communities was common between the white and the coloured population groups. Yet, the non-involvement of the black African population group was obvious. The civic activity in resident associations and community meetings was mainly in the hands of the coloured people, followed by the white population in accordance to their proportions in the total population of Thornton. The way the Thornton community was constituted follows Parekh´s (2000) theory on multiculturalism and different ways of neighbourhood governance: The institutionalized white forms of neighbourhood governance do not produce cohesion. Instead, as Allen and Cars, (2001, p. 2195) have pointed out, it may become part of institutionalization of racism, or demonstrating a racialized mechanisms and structures of microaggression.

The religious communities were cohesion-advancing institutions inside their own communities. Yet, even though the population distribution in two of the three Christian churches was multiracial, each Christian community had a distinctive racial image: One being exclusively white, one being mainly white, and one being mainly coloured. Even though the black African population in South Africa also belong to Christian denominations, in Thornton they have not joined the local churches. The activity in social media followed the patterns of the overall community participation. The Facebook group of Thornton was predominantly non-black. The results demonstrated the smooth interaction and collective activity between the coloured and white residents, while the black Africans withdrew from neighbourhood projects.

Racial tendencies were also visible in public spaces and open areas. The use of space demonstrated the different cultural customs, and racial differences were notable. Some of the

racially biased use of space was produced by the people that did not live in Thornton. The black African men lying on the field in front of the shopping centre were not locals. Their presence and visibility were obvious, and the phenomenon was condemned, especially by the white residents. The commuters to and from the railway station were exclusively non-white, and mainly black African. Due to the pedestrian traffic there was a non-white street view during the peak hours. Otherwise the street life was very quiet, and no racial bias could be identified.

Attitudes and preconceptions towards the other race groups were significant for social cohesion. In Thornton, both contributing and preventing mindsets had an impact on attaining an inclusive and cohesive neighbourhood community. The characterization of the village like community was challenged by comparing the rhetoric of good will with the individual performance and tangible actions in building links and creating contacts with the neighbours. The cohesion-contributing attitudes were encapsulated in the commonly used phrase "we see no colour". Despite the general positive approach and openness towards the changes in the neighbourhood and the changed neighbours, residents were "talking integration" instead of advancing it in their own personal lives. The rhetoric reflecting neighbourhood relations did not generate to palpable activity, and corresponding actions, inter-racial closer social contacts and friendship links were rare. The conclusion was that the integration orientation and community cohesion materialized only as a thin surface layer of thought and activity.

Most of the opinions and judgements were generated from the wider understanding of other groups´ cultural differences, and not from the customs of the close neighbours in Thornton. The new or strange manners of the local neighbours were reflected in the stereotypical beliefs and previously built preconceptions of the culture and customs of other groups. The tendency to seek confirmation of one´s own initial thoughts shaped the reaction and response to the divergent or different behaviour and customs.

Cultural differences were managed through social control and through the entitlement for "who defines whom" (Ballard, 2005, p. 69) or as Dubow (1994, p.369) describes, "naming" as a means to define less powerful groups. Social control operated from established tradition of middle-class values and customs, towards the new neighbours. New residents were expected to adjust their way of life and customs to conventional norms. As Steyn (2001) has defined, whiteness bears an image of being standard by which everyone is measured. This "whiteness" was the norm in Thornton, accepted and followed by the coloured residents, meanwhile black African residents struggled with this expectation.

In Thornton, prejudice was salient, even though there was also openness and willingness to tolerate and accept the difference and dissimilarity, the Other. There was prejudice in every race group towards the other groups. The hardest statements were voiced by the older white residents towards the black African people. The sense of belonging and place attachment were burdened by the experienced and expected prejudice especially among the black African residents. Consequently, the lack of trust of being welcomed and accepted into the community led to self-exclusionary behaviour. This caused the evolvement of a spiral of prejudice and exclusion: Prejudice generated by society level stereotyping caused suspicion and generated the self-exclusive behaviour of black African residents. This, in turn, led to the non-visibility of black African residents in community activities and social interaction, which caused this race group to remain as a stranger, being judged through the previously adopted stereotypes.

For most of the residents contacted, it was indisputable that race still mattered. Both individual identities and groups associations were strongly influenced by race. During the fieldwork, only two respondents, both of whom were white, refused to define their race group, and instead, identified themselves as South Africans. People were aware of their neighbours´ race. Even if race did not play any role in their neighbourhood general interaction or community activity, the closer social contacts and association groups were racially biased. Most of the respondents had their friendship links inside their own race group, and most of their leisure time was spent socializing in-racially. A curiosity that deserves further investigation was the fact that in Thornton only few couples had married across their race.

To sum up, the apartheid social structures further affected the neighbourhood everyday realities and mundane social practices. Neighbourhood social cohesion was still conditioned by race, even though the western middle-class life style absorbed all colours. Continuities of the past maintained asymmetric social interactions and obstructed closer social integration. The group identities and the historical burden still affected the way people socialized and were open to other race groups. In addition, good relations across the street across the race did not expand to wider and more extensive thinking. The positive experiences of neighbours of all colours were not extrapolated to more common understanding of interracial relations. However, it cannot solely be identified as a ”myth of colour-blindness” (Brown, M., 2005). People were not working against building interracial contacts, but they seemed to be somehow incompetent and powerless to negotiate the different races and the changing social environment. Thornton was tolerant but nevertheless, racialized community.

10.3 Renegotiating the identities, rephrasing the interplay between race and place

The neighbourhood social cohesion analysis and results are next rephrased and re-evaluated by adding the identity association dimension to the discussion. This anaysis adds to the previous chapters in discussing identities and social categories (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010, p. 1092; Turner et al., 1992; Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel, 1982). The negotiating of individual and collective identities is discussed in brief to display the relationship between race and other identity determinants being and not being significant in neighbourhood social structures. By comparing the importance of the four identity associations of race, class, religion and place for the different population groups, this section develops and presents discussion of the analysis through another approach.

The change of the social order of society had allowed and forced residents in Thornton to renegotiate their individual and collective identities. Whether an old or a new resident, the change of living environment and the surrounding people had been substantial. This study argues that the middle-class way of life has formed the background on which the racial, religious, language and more specific income- and education- level differences shaped bigger and smaller nuances. While English has become the common language in Thornton, to address the language association in more detail was left outside this discussion. In addition, class is considered the same for all residents, and the analysing education and precise income levels affecting the identity associations have been left to later studies. While my research analysis is based on qualitative methods, the subsequent deductions are not quantitatively defined, and thus merely indicating. The next interpretation summary of race, class, religion and place has been made by using all material gathered: interviews, observation and questionnaires.

The older white people were most attached to the place, Thornton, and especially to the Thornton that it had been in the past. However, their identity association was built around one entity, identifying in the place, the race, the religion and the class as a package in which all determinants were inseparable. The working-age white people built their identity first around class, second around place, and last came both religion and race. The coloured residents identified first around class, then came religion and place, and last came race. The black African residents identified themselves first according to race, then class, third religion, and last place. For the Muslims, religion was the most important identity association, followed by class and place, and race was the least important.

When this identity association analysis is connected to analysis of association groups and belonging to a group, integration and place attachment are once more reformulated. Next, belonging into Thornton as a community is shortly discussed through various membership states and membership positions. While the older white residents constituted the "original members", the coloured and the younger generation white residents were the "new members". While the white residents were "members" in each association category of race, class, religion and place, none of the other groups had as clear positioning. Black African residents were "non-members", and depending on the approach, could also be called "autonomous non-members". Muslims were "candidates for membership", their religion producing a boundary in otherwise acceptable conditions for full membership. Some working-age white residents may have been identified as "autonomous non-members", and part of the coloured residents were pondering between of being a "candidate for membership" or an "autonomous non-member".

The deviant track to the discussion about identity association was added to this discourse to provide another aspect of the complexity of the neighbourhood social environment. It displays the grounds through which different groups of residents approach and perceive their social and spatial surroundings. If people tend to perceive themselves as exemplars of their social category rather than being an individual personality, the negotiating between collective and individual needs and aspirations confirms the significance of the group category in the self-categorizing process. The identity association approach presented provides another view of the use of race as a variable conditioning neighbourhood cohesion in a social context in which race has a different weight for different people. The dispersion of identity associations, and the variation in group membership status, confirm the argument of the complex relationship between segregation and integration. Including more specific analysis on neighbourhood in-racial, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversities was considered to be too ambitious and was left for later research.

Chapter 11

Themes derived and suggestions for further studies

11.1 Rainbow Nation and European debate on multiculturalism

The results of this study follow and contribute to the wider discussions on multiculturalism. The experiences of the South African Rainbow Nation can be extended to the European context, where immigration has changed the social fabric substantially (Armbruster & Meinhof, 2011). Multiculturalism is understood in two ways. It is about the actual state of different people and cultures sharing the space and society, and about the policy work handling it (Novotný, 2017). In the everyday reality and mundane contacts, the difference is not categorized the same way as is done in the policy making. But policy making bundles difference in a way which confirms and wraps the enclaves and diversity inside the boundaries. Grouping and categorizing confirm in-group identities and sets the groups "against" each other and "against" the society´s traditional mainstream. The "making of cultural groups" from above creates fragmentation and exclusive communities.

In South Africa, the idea of building unity in diversity has confirmed the previous race-based categories and racial group identities. Race is still a dominant social category and outweighs other attributes that might unite people across race. The Rainbow as 'multi' has turned against its original idea of cohesive society by classifying and categorizing, and thus confirming the difference.

In Europe, the policies in different countries have taken different approaches to multiculturalism caused by immigration and subsequent cultural differences. In France, politics has emphasized assimilation; in Germany, encouraging preserving the minority´s "own" culture and traditions; in the UK, including immigrant groups in politics as representants of a certain ethnicity. As a political tool multiculturalism has emphasized diversity by categorizing and subsequently confirming the differences and institutionalizing diversity. (Malik, 2015; Bacqué et al., 2011). The categorizing of minorities, religious groups etc. into one unit creates exclusive enclaves. Multiculturalism has become interculturalism (Ravasz, 2017, p. 103; Cantle, 2012), negotiating the society between separate cultural groups, and individuals negotiating their position and identity from behind the group boundaries.

Should we then, as Malik (2015, p. 32) suggests, leave the management of multiculturalism and integration to civic society rather than state policies? Whatever the answer is, and despite the possible exhaust on discussing multiculturalism, this theme deserves further research both in European and South African context.

11.2. The black African middle class

The results of my study contribute to the wider discussion on the new black African middle class. (Melber, 2016; Southall, 2016; Mattes, 2015; Visagie & Posel, 2013). There is a growing number of black African people belonging to middle-class occupations, and their educational and financial ability to move into previously white professions and residential areas has increased the urban mixing. The new class status has caused the renegotiation of their identities: Are the new economically-advanced black African people willing and/or able to be included in the previous hegemonic white middle-class values and lifestyles? How do black Africans conceive themselves and how do the whites conceive their new class mates?

According to Southall (2016), Khunou (2015), Khunou & Kriege (2013), and Schlemmer (2005), there is confusion in reconciling class and racial identity, and to overcome the stereotypes of blackness (Meghji, 2017). My study contributes to this theme. In Thornton, the local exclusive practices and prejudiced thought is built on common society level perceptions and stereotyping, while close neighbours are regularly, and despite the race, considered as to be "good people". Thus, the withdrawal and self-exclusion of black African people raises the question of the motivations and visions of the new black African middle class when negotiating the new neighbourhood and new neighbours. Is it confusion while travelling between old township traditions and the new middle-class way of life, or is it a conscious decision about not being willing to follow the whitewashed lifestyle? The black African as a "marginal man" (Park, 1967, p. 205) has to negotiate the old and new identities pressured by two different cultures and traditions, struggling between two social environments, township and suburbia. Social mobility has resulted in old and new relationships of dependence and hierarchy across the spaces, working out new social hierarchies and behaviours (Southall, 2016, Burger et al., 2015). The "marginal man" may end up being an outsider in both worlds, in between divided self. He might be "caught not between two cultures, … but without one" (Malik, 2015, p. 31).

South African national-level surveys claim that black African people associate little with the western culture (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010, p.229). This confirms the thought that the emerging black African middle class is not willing to adopt the whitewashed western middle-class way of life (Southall, 2016, p. 239; Bank, 2015). Imitating the lifestyles of the white middle class is seen as a demonstration of having an inferiority complex (Frazier, 1957, p. 24,131). Calling black African people 'coconuts' or 'oreos' (Rudwick, 2008, p. 12) or 'black diamonds' (Southall, 2016, p. 176; Khunou, 2015, p. 96; Donaldson et al., 2013, p.115) support the thought that being black and middle class is understood as being unnatural. As Meghji (2017) has pointed out, both the white and black imagination frame the black middle class as inauthentic.

The suggestions arising from the themes and research questions for further studies are: What is the black African middle classness? Should it be defined according to economic or cultural determinants? Is it more African (Southall 2016, p. 223-242), western, global or is it hybrid? And then, what will its impact be on South African society and future, socially, economically and politically?

11.3. New housing policies dismantling apartheid spatial planning

Dismantling the apartheid spatial order has been central throughout the post-apartheid decades. In the first few years of the post-apartheid new democracy, the emphasis was on equalization of housing and access to property ownership for those whom it was not possible during apartheid segregation. However, the private ownership of land was left untouched which resulted in the building of subsidized housing (RPD) in the previously segregated areas, i.e. black African townships on the remote urban edges. Instead of changing the previous spatial order, the first post-apartheid policies confirmed the unequal access to space. Since that time, the policies have had new objectives, and other than ownership-based housing strategies have been developed. At present there is a new wave of housing developments the aims of which are to offer affordable housing in better areas of the city and social mixing. This mixing includes economically-diverse forms of housing (privately owned, subsidized, rental) and thus, new residential developments including diverse income groups. Even if class has overcome the race when addressing the access to residential space, the housing policies are still race politics as well.

One example of these new models of repealing apartheid unequal spatial order is the new housing complex on the old Conradie hospital site in Thornton. It is part of residential and business hub projects (for example Two Rivers Urban Park TRUP, Bellville development, 'Corridors of Freedom'[31]) along the Voortrekker Road and N1 transport corridor developments. These future projects deserve further analysis; their impact on effectiveness in abolishing apartheid spatial planning and advancing social integration. The future of Thornton and the impact of the Conradie development for the present form Thornton is one of my personal interests. Residents in Thornton were concerned about social degradation, increasing traffic and decreasing property values. How will the new development affect area´s social fabric, and how will the new residents integrate either in Thornton or possibly in Pinelands? The future 'of original' Thornton (excluding the impact of Conradie) raises the curiosity will it stay racially mixed, or turn into a non-white or a non-black African area, and how will this change or stabilize the village-likeness?

I close this thesis with debating the question I heard so many times during my study and especially during my stays in Cape Town and in Thornton. Why ('on earth') study Thornton? This somewhat doubtful approach provokes another question: What is and isn´t worth studying, not being too 'ordinary' (Robinson, 2016, 2006) in global urban studies? Thornton is in the 'global south' (Hanlon & Vicino, 2018; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014) representing the 'global western' (middle class) and has been infiltrated by the new 'African' (middle class), and this makes the unordinary ordinary, and the ordinary unordinary. Thornton´s racial mix is locally specific, i.e. unordinary in Cape Town and in the South African context. However, Thornton is like an ordinary suburb in Finland or in the United States. This 'western' ordinary suburbia again becomes unordinary when set in a larger context of southern urbanism, with, for example, economic informality and lacking infrastructure or megacities with high rise CBDs surrounded by endless deteriorating settlements. Thornton as a research objective travels between discourses that are either sceptical towards creating specifically southern urban theorizing (Robinson, 2017, 2011; Mabin, 2014) or support the need for urban theory to and from the global south (Robinson & Parnell, 2017; Robinson & Roy, 2016; Patel, 2014; Roy 2014; Watson, 2009; Chakrabarty, 2009). I hope Thornton appears as an example of "worlding from below" (Simone, 2001). The challenges of multiculturalism in Thornton and South Africa

[31] The dismantling of the apartheid spatial order and urban planning includes the change of the use of the previous buffer zones and calling these areas as Corridors of Freedom (Harper & Lipietz, 2018; Mosiane, 2018; Bremner, 2000).

resonate with those in Europe, and thus, universalize 'southern' and 'northern' urban experiences. This study hopefully contributes to the devotion of Parnell and Pieterse (2015) for finding a "more inclusive research agendas that make African urban research influential internationally".

So, why Thornton? Because it would have been a huge mistake not to.

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Appendix 1.

Selection criteria: none of the population groups exceeds 50 % of the total population, at least two other groups, each of which makes at least 10 % of the total population.

Including Bellville Park, Muizenberg and Woodstock was first disregarded being too close to 50 % but then this percentage was taken as an exact limit.

Based on the City of Cape Town Census 2011 information.

Total population 3 740 025.

	Asian	Black African	Coloured	White	Total amount	
	%	%	%	%		
Bellville Park	7.6	24.5	15.4	49.6	1538	
Brooklyn	1.2	35.6	31.5	30.3	10 941	
Capricorn	3.9	22.9	42	27.8	4459	
De Gama Park	9.5	28.0	21.1	40.2	2346	
Foreshore	9.3	37.8	11.4	19.2	762	
Goodwood	4.2	16.9	32.1	44.1	32 511	
Milnerton non-urban	1.7	38.3	20.3	38.1	3293	
Mowbray	4.0	44.2	11.3	36.1	4726	
Muizenberg	1.9	23.2	18.4	49.9	5535	
Observatory	3.6	39.7	18.5	34.4	9207	
Thornton	3.4	26.4	48.8	18.9	5862	
Rugby	3.1	24.7	31.9	36.5	4430	
Woodstock	4.8	25.1	50.1	13.6	12657	
Wynberg	3.4	21.2	46.1	23.9	14472	
Zonnebloem	2.2	39.4	31.4	19.6	5122	
					117 861	
						3.15 %
Just below/above the selection criteria						
Kraaifontein	0.8	9.2	42.3	46.4	62933	
Ruyterwacht	1.2	11.1	51.4	32.8	10733	
Summer Greens	1.8	52.7	28.6	10.6	6275	
Waterfront	9.4	39.5	5.7	26.7	1570	
					88088	
					205 949	5.50 %

Appendix 2.

THE BASIC STRUCTUTRE OF PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Representing the theme and purpose of the interview: Social relations and interaction between different race groups, spaces of integration in Thornton. All information only for my study, integrity, non-identifiable, as open and honest answers and views as possible.

Race, age, gender, profession/education, accommodation, religion, family relations, language

1. How long have you lived in Thornton? Why and from where did you move?

2. Are you happy with your choice, is this a good place for you and your family? Future plans, to stay or move?

3. Where are your social networks? Previous places of stay, work, hobbies, in T?

4. In which communities are you involved with? Why?

5. What things integrate/ separate residents in T? (values, class, race, language, something else)

6. Are there different race groups in your communities? Is it meaningful for you?

7. Do you feel a sense of community with people from other race groups? Where and how?

8. Where do people gather together in Thornton?

9. Has race a different meaning here than in other CT areas, like Pinelands, Ruyterwacht, Langa, Rondebosch?

10. The meaning of social media? Facebook, other.

11. Name some characteristics of Thornton?

13. What do you think of other race groups? Where do you interact, meet, where not? Would you like to have more/less interaction? What kind of interaction you wish for, don´t wish for?

14. Does different groups have different spaces, public or private? Can other groups join them?

15. Is race meaningful to you? In your or other professional life, private life?

16. Do you think your neighbours think the same?

17. Do you see/experience prejudice?

18. How do see your future? Economically, social relations, accommodation? And the future of T?

Appendix 3.

QUESTIONNAIRE

A) Background Information

1. Your age_____ 2. Sex_____ 3. Racial group_____

4. Occupation/education _____

5. Household size_____ (adults/children)

6. Form of housing_____

(for example: rented or privately-owned flat, rented or privately-owned house)

B) Moving to Thornton

1. When did you move to Thornton? _____

2. From where did you move? _____

3. Why did you choose Thornton? _____

_____

_____

4. Are you still satisfied with living in Thornton? Why? _____

_____

_____

5. Has Thornton changed during this time? If yes, how? _____

_____

_____

1. Do you recognize sense of community /with your neighbours in Thornton? Whether yes or no, could you give some explanation for this?

_____

_____

_____

2. Are you concerned about the security and crime in Thornton? Whether yes or no, why?

_____

_____

_____

3. How would you define the environment/milieu in Thornton?

_____

_____

_____

4. Are you satisfied with services in Thornton? (for ex. transport, schools, health care, grocery, green areas)

_____

_____

_____

5. Free speech, about living in Thornton, small or big things, private or public: